



## Inscriptions: Horoi, Poletai Records, Leases of Public Lands

Gerald V. Lalonde; Merle K. Langdon; Michael B. Walbank

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# THE ATHENIAN AGORA

RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS

CONDUCTED BY

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XIX

## INSCRIPTIONS

### HOROI

BY GERALD V. LALONDE

### POLETAI RECORDS

BY MERLE K. LANGDON

### LEASES OF PUBLIC LANDS

BY MICHAEL B. WALBANK



THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

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## FOREWORD

The present volume, No. XIX in the series on the Athenian Agora, is the third devoted to inscriptions on stone. The first epigraphic volume, No. XV, *The Athenian Councillors* (1975) by the late Benjamin D. Meritt and John S. Traill, contains all known epigraphic texts recording the activities of the Councillors. No. XVII, *The Funerary Monuments*, by the late Donald W. Bradeen (1974), deals with all gravestones found in the excavations.

The present volume is triple in both substance and authorship but homogeneous in that all its parts are alike in presenting documents of civic importance. In Part I Gerald V. Lalonde publishes all the boundary markers (*horoi*) found in the excavations. Only a small proportion of the stones had stood originally in the ancient Agora; the majority, as in the case of the tombstones, had been brought into the area in late times for re-use.

Part II, by Merle K. Langdon, comprises all known epigraphic records of the transactions of the Vendors (*poletai*), a board of civic officials responsible for the sale or lease of public and confiscated property, the lease of mines and taxes, and the letting of contracts for public works. The majority of the stones have been found in the excavation of the Agora where all the records were originally displayed.

In Part III Michael B. Walbank deals with the terms and procedure for the leasing of public and sacred property. The responsible officials might be those appointed by the state, i.e. the Vendors, or representatives of lesser political bodies such as demes, or spokesmen for sacred establishments such as sanctuaries. By no means all the records of such transactions need have been set up in the Agora, but the present study is confined to those inscriptions that surely had stood in the Agora and that are now to be found either in the Agora Museum or in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens.

In keeping with the policy announced in *The Athenian Agora* XV, p. v, the authors of the present volume have confined their editions to texts based on fresh autopsy with epigraphic notes and bibliography but without translation or detailed commentary. In each part of the volume, however, the catalogue of texts is preceded by a discussion of the theme based on all the available evidence both epigraphic and literary. Again in line with established practice in this epigraphic series, illustration is generally confined to those stones for which photographs are not available elsewhere, almost always in *Hesperia*.

The individual authors have made their personal acknowledgments to helpful colleagues and benefactors. Those authors in turn deserve the gratitude of the Publications Program of the Agora Excavations for the years of back-breaking and eye-trying labor devoted to the study of these precious but sadly fragmented public records of ancient Athens. Equally deserving are the Editor and her staff who have made the results of all that research so readily accessible to the reader.

The manuscripts for two more epigraphic volumes are now nearing completion: Vol. XVI, *The Decrees* by Geoffrey Woodhead and Vol. XVIII, *The Dedications and Imperial Letters* by Daniel J. Geagan.

HOMER A. THOMPSON

Field Director (emeritus), Agora Excavations



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## ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

AA = *Archäologischer Anzeiger*

Agora = *The Athenian Agora, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Princeton

III = R. E. Wycherley, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, 1957

VIII = E. T. H. Brann, *Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery, Mid 8th to Late 7th Century B.C.*, 1962

XIV = H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens*, 1972

XVI = A. G. Woodhead, *Inscriptions. The Decrees*, in preparation

Agora Guide<sup>3</sup> = H. A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavation and Museum*, 3rd ed., Athens 1976

AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology*

AM = *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*

ANSMN = *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*

Ath. Pol. = *The Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*

Attische Pachturkunden = D. Behrend, *Attische Pachturkunden (Vestigia XII)*, Munich 1970

AZ = *Archäologische Zeitung*

BABesch = *Bulletin antieke beschaving*

BCH = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*

Brann. See Agora VIII.

BSA = *The Annual of the British School at Athens*

CIG = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* I, Berlin 1828, edited by August Boeckh

ClMed = *Classica et mediaevalia. Revue danoise de philologie et d'histoire*

CSCA = *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*

Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte* = E. Curtius, *Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, Berlin 1891

Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* = J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C.*, Oxford 1971

Δελτ = *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*

Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> = W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed., Leipzig 1915–1924

Eliot, *Coastal Demes* = C. W. J. Eliot, *Coastal Demes of Attika, A Study of the Policy of Kleisthenes (Phoenix, Supplement V)*, Toronto 1962

Ἐφ' Ἀρχ = *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*

Ἔργον = *Τὸ Ἔργον τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*

FGH = F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin 1923–1930; Leiden 1940–1958

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GaR = *Greece and Rome*

GRBS = *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*

Glötz, *La solidarité* = G. Glötz, *La solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce*, Paris 1904

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# I. HOROI

BY

GERALD V. LALONDE

## PREFACE

In cataloguing the inscribed horoi found during the excavation of the Athenian Agora by the American School of Classical Studies, I have divided the texts into seven principal categories, and within these categories I have further arranged the inscriptions according to textual variations and, insofar as they could be dated, in chronological order. The usual statistics, bibliography, and notice of published illustration precede the edited text of each inscription. Photographs of horoi in this volume are limited to heretofore unpublished examples and a few others that illustrate the variety of types discovered in the Agora.

To the scholars who have studied these and similar inscriptions before me, especially the late J. V. A. Fine and the late M. I. Finley in the case of the security horoi, I am much indebted. I would like to thank the members of the Publications Committee of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens who gave me helpful advice about the form of this work. Particular thanks are due to the Field Directors of the Agora Excavations, Homer A. Thompson (1946–1967) and T. Leslie Shear, Jr. (1968 to present), for putting these documents at my disposal for study and publication and for giving me access to the fine staff and facilities of the Stoa of Attalos. I mention in particular the late Spyros Spyropoulos, Agora technician, whose friendship, generosity, and assistance during this and other projects are cherished memories. I am grateful to Stephen G. Miller and William D. E. Coulson, past and present Directors of the American School, and to their staffs for extending to me the hospitality and privileges of the School and its Blegen and Gennadios Libraries. When I had occasion to study inscriptions in the National Epigraphical Museum at Athens, the cordial help of the Director, K. Peppas-Delmouzou, and her staff was very much appreciated. Special thanks are due to Dorothea Lalonde and Pamela Lalonde for their help in preparing the manuscript. I am grateful to my co-author, Michael B. Walbank, for collating the indices to this volume. I am greatly indebted to Marian H. McAllister, Editor of American School Publications, and her staff for their skillful and patient assistance throughout the process of editing. Finally I would like to express my deep gratitude to Grinnell College and to Agnese Lindley and the Trustees of the Agnese Lindley Foundation, whose interest and generosity made possible my pursuit of this work.

GERALD V. LALONDE

GRINNELL COLLEGE  
Grinnell, Iowa  
June 19, 1987



## HOROI

Horoi are among the many types of inscriptions found in extraordinary numbers in the area of the ancient Agora. This epigraphical bounty is the result of the extent and intensiveness of the excavations here and of the area's having been a focal point of Athens throughout its history. A very small number of the horoi are *in situ*, and not many more can be assigned to known establishments in the ancient Agora. Most of the stones are not traceable to any identifiable property, and the great majority of these, including certainly the numerous private funerary and security horoi, were brought here through the ages as incidental building material. Thus, the inscribed markers catalogued below are to be viewed and understood not so much in the context of the Agora as in that of the whole city.

### NATURE AND PURPOSE

Whether the original meaning of ὄρος was “boundary” or “watcher”,<sup>1</sup> Wade-Gery has shown that the word is not always to be translated as “boundary stone”; many inscribed horoi, especially security markers, did not delimit property but only marked its general location and provided information about it.<sup>2</sup> These simple markers, however, shared with true boundary stones the purpose of protecting property from encroachment or violation and, in the case of security horoi, protecting the real estate of creditors. The integrity of property, public or private, was supported by strong religious sanctions, of which the horoi were both practical and symbolic expressions. A 1st-century B.C. Athenian decree from Eleusis<sup>3</sup> mentions Athena Horia and Zeus Horios as protectors of boundaries or horoi. Plato (*Laws* 842E–843A) probably reflects contemporary law when he puts at the head of his code on agriculture a statute against the moving of another's horoi and asserts that violators shall be guilty at the bar of heaven and that of the law. The texts of horoi themselves sometimes include prohibitions against violation of the property: a marker in the Amphiareion in Oropos (*IG* VII, 422) forbids building within the boundaries of the sanctuary; two horoi of the Athenian Koinon of the Eikadeis (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2631, 2632) warn against the dumping of trash on their property. In 422 B.C. the Athenian Demos decreed (*IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 78, lines 54–59) the protection by horoi of shrines in the Pelargikon, the impeachment of violators before the Boule, and a statutory fine of 500 drachmas. A decree of 352/1 B.C. (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 204) ordered the re-establishment of horoi on the Eleusinian ἱερὰ ὄργας (sacred land), which had been invaded by private parties. Disputes between private citizens over boundaries and their markers could be settled amicably by mediation or arbitration, or through such judicial processes as διαδικασία, δίκη οὐσίας, or δίκη ἐξούλης.<sup>4</sup> While horoi were not *a priori* proof of ownership in such litigation, they were sometimes cited as evidence, especially if the correctness of their location could be in some way verified.<sup>5</sup>

Below the ultimate authority of the Boule and Demos, the protection of public property was the responsibility of particular magistrates and, when circumstances warranted, of *ad hoc* commissions. Plato (*Laws* 760B) and Aristotle (*Politics* 1321b.18–30) drew on the Athenian constitution when they allocated

<sup>1</sup> See H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, “ὄρος, ὄρος,” *ZPE* 8, 1971 (pp. 97–103), pp. 97–98.

<sup>2</sup> H. T. Wade-Gery, “Horos,” in *Mélanges Glotz* II (pp. 877–887), pp. 879–880; see also J. H. Oliver, “Horoi as Reserved Areas,” *GRBS* 4, 1963, pp. 141–143. In the present study I use the term “boundary stone” only in its literal sense.

<sup>3</sup> I. Threpsiades in K. Kourouniotes, *Ἐλευσινιακά* I, Athens 1932, pp. 223–236, line 16 of the inscription.

<sup>4</sup> See A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens: The Family and Property*, Oxford 1968, pp. 214–220; D. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens*, London 1978, pp. 145–147, 153–154.

<sup>5</sup> See Demosthenes, 31.1–7, 12–13; 42.5, 28; Isaios, 6.36; cf. MacDowell, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

the superintendence of boundaries in their philosophical cities and countrysides to *ἄστυνόμοι* and *ἀγρονόμοι* respectively. *Ath. Pol.* 50 reflects the historical reality of this assignment, at least as regards the *Astynomoi*, when it notes that these magistrates are to see that building constructions do not encroach on city streets.<sup>6</sup> Various other officials, however, shared these responsibilities when the boundaries in question were in their jurisdiction. The *Basileus*, as chief religious magistrate, oversaw the placement of horoi in the shrines of the *Pelargikon* (*IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 78, lines 54–55) and around that of *Kodros* (*IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84, lines 6–8), and the *Hierophant* and *Dadouchos* took part in the re-establishment of the boundaries of the Eleusinian *ἱερὰ ὄργα*s (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 204, line 13). These last two projects were of such importance or magnitude that the Athenians augmented the force of magistrates by the appointment of special commissions of *ὄρισταί* (“Boundary-men”). The commissioners for the Eleusinian temenos were not explicitly called *Horistai*, but they clearly had duties similar to those of boards of that title at Athens and elsewhere.<sup>7</sup> This body of ten men from the general citizenry and five(?) from the *Boule* (lines 5–7) was to hold sessions of inquiry for five days in the city Eleusinion, to determine the correct boundaries of the temenos (lines 10–12), and to see to the placement of new horoi (lines 74–75).

### CHRONOLOGICAL RANGE

The history of horoi in Athens, as in all of Greece, probably goes back before literate times, but the evidence for pre-inscriptional stones is slight and speculative; we might posit their use on the analogy of a variety of uninscribed natural and artificial boundary markers of the Classical and Hellenistic periods;<sup>8</sup> furthermore, horoi are mentioned in very early literature, such as the *Iliad* (12.421–423; 21.404–405) and, at Athens, the iambic lines attributed to Solon (*Ath. Pol.* 12.4–5). Athens has yielded inscribed gravestones as early as the late 7th century, but its earliest extant horoi are from the second half of the 6th century: the Archaic boundary stones of the Agora (**H25–H27**) are dated about 500 B.C., and the rupestral horos of Zeus on the Hill of the Nymphs (*IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 863) shows somewhat earlier letter forms. While most horoi can be dated only from their letter forms, and the shabby lettering of funerary and security horoi is particularly difficult to date, it is fair to say that the great majority of Athenian stones are from the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Of the horoi from the Agora excavations, twelve at most can be dated to the 3rd century or later, and the Roman period is represented by only three stones (**H18**, **H23**, **H24**). Thus, inscribed horoi in general were used in Athens from the late Archaic period through Roman times, although, as will be shown below, the peculiarly Athenian trittys markers and security horoi had shorter histories.

### PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Enough Attic horoi have been found that the range of their physical properties can be readily assessed. Practically all identifiable horos inscriptions are cut on natural rock, stelai, or wall blocks. The rupestral inscriptions are understandably a minority within Athens, but their use in the outlying plains and mountains to mark shrines, farms, mines, tombs, and other properties was widespread. As difficult as these texts are to notice in the field, new specimens are discovered regularly. The predominant medium of horos texts within the city was the stele of marble or limestone, rectangular in shape<sup>9</sup> and rough picked except for the upper front face, which was dressed smooth as a background for the inscription. Sharing with modern signs the objectives of conspicuousness and easy legibility, the texts of horoi are usually brief and cut in large letters. Except for a few examples of vertical (**H2**, **H31**) and retrograde (**H26**) lettering,<sup>10</sup> the texts are horizontal

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 313 and note 6.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84, lines 7–8; II<sup>2</sup>, 1177 (Peiraieus); XIV, 645 (Herakleia); *BCH* 3, 1879, p. 244, A(I) (Chios).

<sup>8</sup> E.g., *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84; Travlos, *PDA*, pp. 332–334, figs. 435, 436; *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 75, line 33; IX<sup>2</sup> 1, 177; XIV, 352; 645, I, lines 15–93; the National Epigraphical Museum in Athens possesses a number of blank stelai of the size and shape of horoi, but we cannot be sure of their use or intended use; see also *Kerameikos* I, p. 5 and note 4, for two unworked slabs of stone found *in situ* in the *Kerameikos* excavations.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the rare exceptions, which are octagonal (**H51**) and triangular (**H46**) in horizontal section.

<sup>10</sup> The lineation of the Archaic horoi of the Agora (**H25–H27**) is unique; *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 862 is not true boustrophedon (see L. Threatte,

and orthograde with little sculptural embellishment.<sup>11</sup> Leaving aside the private horoi (funerary and security stones) and trittys markers for discussion below, we can sum up the texts of other horoi as usually, but not always, including the word *ὄρος* and usually having one or more of the following informative elements: type of property (e.g. **H22**); epithet or description of the property (**H33**, **H34**); name of the divine or human owner (**H6**; *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 870); epithet of the owner (**H10**); prohibition or warning (*IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 870); dimensions of the property (**H23**, **H24**). A number of horoi are written in unsystematic abbreviations, usually with the purpose of getting large lettering on a limited space: e.g., OX for *ὄ(ρος) χ(ωρίο)* (*IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 879), OP{ PIM probably for *ὄ(ρος) π(αραλίας καὶ μ(εσογαίας)*,<sup>12</sup> and *hóros* K (*IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 876), where the kappa may stand for *κρένες*.<sup>13</sup>

## LOCATION AND ORIENTATION

Despite the great number of extant boundary stones from Attica, not enough of them have been found *in situ* to suggest any clear-cut set of rules about location and orientation. The survival of one Archaic and three Classical horoi around the Tritopatreion in the Kerameikos<sup>14</sup> represents the common and practical placement of stones on the limits, particularly the corners, of property, with the inscriptions facing outward so as to be clearly visible to passersby.<sup>15</sup> There are, however, exceptions to this simple and logical arrangement: Some horoi have a single inscribed face referring to properties on both sides of the boundary line (e.g. *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 887 a and b); the inscribed Arch of Hadrian at Athens (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 5185), itself a boundary stone of sorts, implies a familiarity with opisthographic horoi on which each inscription refers to the land on its side of the boundary.<sup>16</sup> In the realm of rupestral horoi, the inscriptions are usually cut on horizontal stretches of rock when available, but the orientation of texts to properties is less conclusive than with stelai. On the west slope of Mt. Hymettos above Kaisariani is an exceptional group of four simple rock-cut horoi (ΟΡΟΣ), three equidistant from one another in a line, and the fourth at a right angle from the line at the same distance.<sup>17</sup> As one follows the line and turn of these inscriptions in a clockwise direction, one reads all four texts right side up and at right angles to the apparent boundary lines. Also noteworthy is the line of six rock-cut horoi which apparently demarked Coastal and Inland Lamptrai. The texts are in a line roughly from east to west with the bottoms of the letters toward the south, and thus would be read right side up by one facing the boundary line from the coastal side.<sup>18</sup> These cases are obviously not enough to yield clear patterns in the arrangement of rupestral boundary inscriptions, but more thorough and systematic field study than is pertinent to this volume would undoubtedly produce more satisfactory conclusions.

## HOROI OF SANCTUARIES

The ancient Athenians, having nothing like our notion of separation of church and state, thought of their Agora as a religious domain as well as a political one. It is not surprising then that in the Agora inventory, as

*The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I, Berlin 1980, p. 55); *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 863 is printed as boustrophedon, but the two lines are really distinct inscriptions.

<sup>11</sup> The stippled bands of the Kerameikos horoi (see **H31**, description; also Travlos, *PDA*, fig. 415) are exceptional, as is the relief of ivy on a horos of Zeus Enchorios from the Roman Imperial age (*SEG* XVIII, 62).

<sup>12</sup> J. S. Traill, "An Interpretation of Six Rock-cut Inscriptions in the Attic Demes of Lamptrai," *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIX (pp. 162–171), pp. 162–169 and pl. 21.

<sup>13</sup> Guarducci, II, p. 437; M. N. Tod, "Letter-Labels in Greek Inscriptions," *BSA* 49, 1954 (pp. 1–8), p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> A. Brueckner, «'Ανασκαφαὶ Κεραμεικοῦ», *Πρακτικά* 1910 (pp. 101–111), pp. 102–104; D. Ohly, "Kerameikos-Grabung Tätigkeitsbericht 1956–1961," *AA* (*JdI* 80) 1965 (pp. 277–376), pp. 327–328.

<sup>15</sup> See below, p. 9 for similar arrangements around small shrines in the Agora; for the problems of interpreting the horoi *in situ* of the Agora and of the Kerameikos, see below, pp. 10–13.

<sup>16</sup> See Strabo, 3.55 and Plutarch, *Theseus* 25.4 for the legend of a horos of this type on the Isthmus of Corinth demarking the Peloponnese and "Ionia".

<sup>17</sup> See J. Ober, "Rock-cut Inscriptions from Mt. Hymettos," *Hesperia* 50, 1981 (pp. 67–77), pp. 73–77, pl. 28; cf. G. R. Stanton, "Some Attic Inscriptions," *BSA* 79, 1984 (pp. 289–306), pp. 301–303.

<sup>18</sup> Traill (footnote 12 above), *loc. cit.*; for other multiple rupestral horoi, see Eliot, *Coastal Demes*, pp. 56, 63–64, fig. 5 (p. 57); cf. Lauter, p. 301, note 12; M. K. Langdon, "The Attic *Tituli Memoriales*," *GRBS* 24, 1983 (pp. 67–70), pp. 68–69, pl. 2:A, B; Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, pp. 116–122; Stanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 298–306.

in that of the Attic *Corpus*, the horoi of sacred precincts comprise the largest class of public property markers.<sup>19</sup> This is not to say, however, that all the sacral horoi catalogued below once stood in the Agora or that the Agora did not have many more markers of shrines than can now be verified. Of the 25 sacral horoi treated here, four (**H7**, **H8** [*in situ*], **H11**, **H14**) marked precincts within or close by the Agora; five (**H2** [*in situ*], **H5**, **H13**, **H18**, **H21**) come from identified shrines at various distances from the Agora, and three others (**H3**, **H4**, **H6**) are probably of similar origin; the horos of a clan sanctuary (**H20**), one of a phratry shrine (**H131**), and two of a large clan temenos (**H23**, **H24**) stood at locations, now unknown, beyond the Agora; the remaining nine (**H1**, **H9**, **H10**, **H12**, **H15–H17**, **H19**, **H22**) are from sanctuaries of unknown location. Only three (**H4**, **H9**, **H10**) were found at Hellenistic levels and two (**H19**, **H20**) in Roman strata. Except for these five and the two found *in situ*, all the sacral horoi were discovered in late contexts.

Of the dislocated horoi, three (**H7**, **H11**, **H14**) are from the major precincts of Zeus Eleutherios, Apollo Patroös, and the Metroön, respectively, all identified with extant foundations along the west side of the Agora. Zeus probably got his epithet upon the liberation of Athens from the Persians, but the site of his cult below the Kolonos Agoraios had a modest shrine that antedated the Persian invasion. On the basis of its three-barred sigma, the horos of Zeus (**H7**) is dated about the mid-5th century, but his Stoa was not constructed until sometime during the Peloponnesian War.<sup>20</sup> The horos, therefore, would have been first employed after the Peace of Kallias to delimit the precinct after it had been cleared of industries that had squatted there in the decades after Xerxes' retreat. At some time this stone was trimmed as if to fit a wall, possibly that of the Stoa itself or an old altar on the east side of the sanctuary.<sup>21</sup>

Although the horos of Apollo Patroös (**H11**) is dated from its letter forms to the beginning of the 4th century, a successor to the ruined Archaic temple of this god on the west flank of the Agora was not built until about 330 B.C.<sup>22</sup> This stone, like that of Zeus Eleutherios, must have served in the intervening years to mark the precinct in some open form after it had been cleared of the Persian rubble. The epithet Patroös reflects the civil and religious character of this cult, to which devotion, in either the Agora shrine or that of one's phratry, was a sign of eligibility for citizenship and public office.<sup>23</sup>

The horos of the Metroön (**H14**), dated about 400–350 B.C., is crudely lettered for an important public marker, but the relative proximity of its finding place to the famous Metroön<sup>24</sup> just south of the precinct of Apollo Patroös prompts assignment to that temenos rather than to another of the Mother Goddess.<sup>25</sup> The horos antedates by at least two centuries the large Hellenistic Metroön, but that building was preceded on the site by an Archaic temple of the Mother, which Xerxes destroyed, and by the Old Bouleuterion of the early 5th century, which the Athenians restored after the Persian evacuation. It must be to the latter building that mid-4th-century orators refer when they speak of the Metroön as a depository of documents.<sup>26</sup> About this time the horos would have been fashioned to mark either a shrine of the Mother inside the Old Bouleuterion or the entire temenos, including the open space to the north left vacant by the destruction of the Archaic temple. Whether the horos stayed in place until the 2nd century and then continued to serve the Metroön in its latest form is uncertain. Since this new building covered virtually all the original temenos, it may have had no need of boundary stones.

<sup>19</sup> The Athenians would have thought odd the division of sacral and civil horoi, but I have followed this modern convention. I have not, however, distinguished public sanctuaries from private (clan temene, for example, and their horoi [**H20**, **H23**, **H24**]).

<sup>20</sup> *Agora* XIV, pp. 96–103 and pls. 4 and 5; the Stoa may have housed a law court and administration offices (p. 102 and note 107), including that of the nine archons (N. Robertson, "The Headquarters of the Nine Archons in the Athenian Agora" [abstract of paper given at the General Meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America, 1983], *AJA* 88, 1984, p. 257).

<sup>21</sup> See *Agora* XIV, p. 96 and note 78.

<sup>22</sup> *Agora* XIV, pp. 136–139 and pls. 4–6. For a recent extensive argument against the existence of an Archaic temple of Apollo Patroös on this site and in favor of dissociation of the horos from the site, see C. W. Hedrick, Jr., "The Temple and Cult of Apollo Patroös in Athens," *AJA* 92, 1988 (pp. 185–210), pp. 185–191, 194.

<sup>23</sup> *Agora* III, pp. 50–51, nos. 107 and 109.

<sup>24</sup> *Agora* XIV, pp. 29–38 and pls. 4–7.

<sup>25</sup> E.g., that on the Hill of the Muses, marked by the rupestral horos, *ἱερὸν Μητρὸς*; see A. N. Skias, «'Ἀθηναϊκαὶ ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπὶ βράχον», *Ἐφ'Ἀρχ* 1899 (pp. 238–239), p. 239.

<sup>26</sup> See *Agora* XIV, p. 35 and note 64.

The small shrines of lesser deities and heroes would have had particular need of the security which boundary stones could provide in an area like the Agora, where space was at a premium. In fact, some of these heroa, which were originally constructed in association with Mycenaean and Geometric tombs and were, in some cases, elaborated in a religious reawakening after the Great Plague of 430 B.C.,<sup>27</sup> had a particularly generous allotment of horoi. Just southwest of the Agora, a small three-sided hieron of the late 5th century was discovered with one horos (**H8**) in place and cuttings which are probably the beddings for two others.<sup>28</sup> A rectangular shrine of similar size and age near the center of the Agora Square had at least two, and probably four, horoi, as we may judge from the stele beddings at its surviving corners.<sup>29</sup> This liberal use of boundary stones may well be related to the vulnerability of the shrines. The triangular hieron stood at one of the busiest intersections of the ancient city.<sup>30</sup> Its rectangular counterpart must have encountered stress from the political and commercial activities in the open square, particularly in its early phase when horoi guarded the sacred plot without benefit of walls.<sup>31</sup> But as the investigations of these two shrines indicate, neither the numbers nor the sanctity of horoi were proof against war, urban renewal, or the decline of piety. During the Peloponnesian War, when the rural population of Attica crowded into the city and settled in and around accessible sanctuaries (Thucydides, 2.16.2–17), the triangular hieron fell into neglect, and within a short time much of its walls and the horos at the northeast corner were buried in debris.<sup>32</sup> The rectangular heroön in the Agora Square was ruined, and its boundary stones were destroyed or scattered by the construction of the Middle Stoa about 180 B.C., but, except for a revival near the end of the 3rd century,<sup>33</sup> this shrine, like many others of its type, was in disuse long before its final ruin. Such decline in devotion to heroes in the Hellenistic age is evident in the scarcity of votive offerings from that period, in the number of sacral horoi that were dislocated by Hellenistic or Roman times, and in the rarity, after the 4th century B.C., of new horoi which would be evidence of the continuing establishment or revival of minor cults.

Horoi with inscriptions as brief as ὄρος (**H2**), τὸ ἱερὸν (**H8**), and ὄρος ἱερὸν (**H12**, **H17**, **H22**) are vexing to archaeologists, particularly when, as in the cases of **H2** and **H8**, the stones are found *in situ* at precincts which offer no clue to the identities of their gods or heroes. Athenians may usually have known by name the beings honored by these cryptic horoi, just as they may have known the specific cult or epithet of Zeus at a shrine marked simply ὄρος Διός (e.g. *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 863). The archaeological evidence, however, is rarely sufficient to allow us to link anonymous horoi with shrines known by name from literary or epigraphic sources.<sup>34</sup> It is plausible that some of the small unidentified sanctuaries with their horoi, as well as some dedications inscribed simply τῷ ἥρω, were intended to honor heroized dead who were not known by name.<sup>35</sup> A circumstantial argument for such anonymous heroizing can be made in the case of the early phase of a sacred precinct in the southwest area of the Agora. This hieron has been tentatively identified as belonging to a Hero Strategos, who is the subject of a dedicatory inscription of about 200 B.C.<sup>36</sup> and a provision for sacrifice in a decree of the 1st century B.C. (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1035, line 53). The former inscription is the earliest evidence of

<sup>27</sup> *Agora* XIV, pp. 119–121.

<sup>28</sup> G. V. Lalonde, "A Fifth Century Hieron Southwest of the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 37, 1968 (pp. 123–133), pp. 123–126, figs. 1 and 2.

<sup>29</sup> G. V. Lalonde, "A Hero Shrine in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 49, 1980 (pp. 97–105), p. 101, pl. 16.

<sup>30</sup> On the Tritopatreion and its horoi at a similar intersection in the Kerameikos, see footnote 14 above, p. 7; Travlos, *PDA*, p. 302 and figs. 394 and 395.

<sup>31</sup> Lalonde (footnote 29 above), pp. 100–101 and note 10.

<sup>32</sup> Lalonde (footnote 28 above), p. 132.

<sup>33</sup> Lalonde (footnote 29 above), pp. 101–105.

<sup>34</sup> Judeich (*Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 387 and 388 and table 1, coordinates G-7) and Travlos (*PDA*, pp. 332–334 and fig. 435) identify the shrine of Kodros that is featured in *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84 with a precinct located southeast of the Akropolis and marked by a 5th-century boundary stone inscribed ὄρος τὸ ἱερὸν; R. E. Wyckley ("Neleion," *BSA* 55, 1960, pp. 60–66) and G. T. W. Hooker ("The Topography of the *Frogs*," *JHS* 80, 1960 [pp. 112–117], pp. 115–116), however, put the shrine of Kodros farther away, beyond the city walls; cf. J. P. Barron, "The Fifth-century Horoi of Aigina," *JHS* 103, 1983, pp. 1–12, for horoi of the 5th-century temenos of Apollo and Poseidon on Aigina, which were first inscribed simply ὄρος τεμένος and only later had the names of the gods added, apparently to differentiate their precinct from a new one of Athena near by.

<sup>35</sup> See S. I. Rotroff, "An Anonymous Hero in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 47, 1978 (pp. 196–209), pp. 204–205.

<sup>36</sup> B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 15, 1946 (pp. 169–253), p. 221, no. 48; cf. *idem*, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 29, 1960 (pp. 1–77), p. 56, no. 80.

this hero, but the reservation as sacred ground of the area between the Tholos and the putative Strategieon is very early and is probably to be associated with a large family burial plot of the 8th and 7th centuries which lay beneath.<sup>37</sup> If, as its location suggests, this sanctuary was that of the Hero Strategos, its early history was very likely that of worship of the anonymous dead of the place, and only much later did it acquire its imaginary hero by association with the adjacent Strategieon.

### HOROI OF CIVIL ESTABLISHMENTS

The most extensive Athenian civil "precinct" was, of course, the polis itself, and, although no horoi of Attica have been found, they are alluded to at least once in literary tradition (Plutarch, *Aristeides* 11.3–8). Whether the Attic demes had official geographic boundaries has long been a matter of controversy, but growing evidence and arguments favor an affirmative conclusion.<sup>38</sup> Although it is not clear that the demes were customarily delimited by inscribed horoi, there is mounting evidence that their boundaries were systematically marked. City walls, streets, and precincts such as the Akropolis and Agora may have served to demark the urban demes, while in the countryside natural landmarks, cairns, and roads would have supplemented inscribed rupestral horoi of the sort that have turned up in fair numbers at locations that are logically deme boundaries.<sup>39</sup> Apart from these larger political divisions, Athens and Peiraieus have yielded a number of examples of horoi of public properties which were rather more secular than religious in character: Mounychia (*IG I*<sup>2</sup>, 894), the *asty* (*IG I*<sup>2</sup>, 893), public springs (*IG I*<sup>2</sup>, 874, 875), the Pnyx (*IG I*<sup>2</sup>, 882), clubs or meeting halls (*IG I*<sup>2</sup>, 888; *II*<sup>2</sup>, 2620), public anchorages (*IG I*<sup>2</sup>, 889, 890), the mercantile exchange (*IG I*<sup>2</sup>, 887 a and b), a path around the Akropolis (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2639),<sup>40</sup> and a defensive moat outside the Themistoclean Wall.<sup>41</sup> Of the seven horos inscriptions of this sort unearthed in the Agora excavations, one found its way there from the Peiraieus (see **H29** and commentary), and the others are remnants of systems of horoi of the Agora itself and of the Kerameikos. The boundaries and boundary stones of these two precincts have had considerable treatment elsewhere<sup>42</sup> and warrant discussion here only as regards some continuing questions.

Of the three related horoi of the Agora which can be dated to about 500 B.C., two (**H25**, **H26**) were found *in situ* facing east on the west side and near the south end of an ancient road which bordered the open square of the Agora on its west flank.<sup>43</sup> These markers had the objective, which we see in the cases of other agoras in Attica,<sup>44</sup> of protecting the chief civil quarter from encroachment and defilement, but, as the excavators have noted, Athens particularly needed to specify the limits of its Agora, because by legal *atimia* accused homicides and certain convicted criminals were excluded from it.<sup>45</sup> M. H. Hansen makes a good case that legal *atimia*, in the sense of deprivation of citizen rights as opposed to the broader and earlier "outlawry", was invented in connection with the overthrow of Hippias and the birth of radical democracy in Athens.<sup>46</sup> The horoi of the Agora are certainly compatible with a Kleisthenic date, and they have an added significance if their placement can be associated not only with the renovation of the Agora to accommodate

<sup>37</sup> See *Hesperia*, Suppl. II; *Agora* VIII, p. 111.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. W. E. Thompson, "The Deme in Kleisthenes' Reforms," *SymbOsl* 46, 1971, pp. 72–79; Lauter, *passim*; M. K. Langdon, "The Territorial Basis of the Attic Demes," *SymbOsl* 60, 1985, pp. 5–15.

<sup>39</sup> The only likely horos of a deme in the city region of Athens-Peiraieus seems to be *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2622; for both urban and rural deme boundaries and boundary stones, see Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Traill, *Demos and Trittyes*, pp. 116–122; cf. Stanton (footnote 17 above, p. 7), pp. 298–301.

<sup>40</sup> The horoi of roads are probably public installations for the most part, but because of their number and peculiarity I will treat them as a separate class in the following section.

<sup>41</sup> See Travlos, *PDA*, pp. 158, 301, figs. 229 and 602; see also *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2495.

<sup>42</sup> E.g., *Agora* XIV, pp. 117–119, pls. 4, 64:a, b; *Agora* III, pp. 221–224; Travlos, *PDA* (Agora), pp. 3, 5, figs. 5, 20–22 and (Kerameikos) pp. 5, 300, figs. 34, 102, 415, 416, 602.

<sup>43</sup> For the road, see *Agora* XIV, p. 17 and note 54. The third Agora horos (**H27**) of this series was found displaced; for the unlettered fragment of a fourth stele, see the commentary on **H25**. **H28** is markedly later than this group and possibly not a horos of the Agora.

<sup>44</sup> See *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 380 (Peiraieus) and 1180 (Sounion).

<sup>45</sup> See *Agora* XIV, p. 118; for the latest thorough discussion of *atimia*, see Hansen, *Apagoge*, pp. 54–98.

<sup>46</sup> Hansen, *Apagoge*, pp. 79–80 and note 27.

Kleisthenes' constitution but also with the legal innovation by which *atimoi* were excluded from that political precinct.

With only two horoi *in situ*, it is difficult to speak with any confidence about the official limits of the Agora, or even its relation to these two markers. The discovery of **H26** nullified the common view that **H25** marked the southwest corner of the Agora but allowed the slightly variant opinion that both stones stood at the southwest entrances to an Agora consisting of the open square to the east. As a place of public gatherings, particularly for the *ostrakophoriai*,<sup>47</sup> this open space was doubtless part of the Agora. If it were the full extent of the Agora, however, the two horoi *in situ* would have served their purposes better by standing on the east side of the road and facing outward from the open square. Furthermore, the mainly political meaning of "agora" in its early use and the strongly legal and political character of *atimia* give considerable support to those who now tentatively or definitely include in the Agora the important civil and religious establishments from the Tholos northward on the west side of the road below Kolonos Agoraios.<sup>48</sup> This composite Agora of open square and adjacent buildings still leaves unanswered the question of a western boundary. Some testimonia put the Kolonos itself in the Agora,<sup>49</sup> but they are late and suspect, at least in regard to the Archaic and Classical periods.

I will conclude discussion of the horoi of the Agora with another tentative explanation of the location and orientation of **H25** and **H26** in relation to an Agora which included both open square and buildings along the west side of the north-south road. Whether the two stones *in situ* were entrance markers or part of a line of horoi along the road, it is plausible that the road itself was neutral ground and not part of the Agora surrounding it. This thoroughfare linking important junctions southwest and northwest of the Agora would then have interrupted the official precinct but been accessible to all, even *atimoi*. The exclusion of roads from civil and religious precincts and their service as boundaries of such precincts is evident in other Athenian horoi (*IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 887 a and b, 892-895; II<sup>2</sup>, 2630). If there were not originally horoi along each side of the north-south Agora road, a line of horoi on just one side, or at entry points to the road, may have been understood to delimit the ground both east and west.<sup>50</sup> This may have been the case also with the Kerameikos horoi which lined the left side of the road leading from the Dipylon to the Academy, but, as will become evident in the following paragraphs, the meaning of those markers is also much debated.

The first horos of the Kerameikos catalogued by Agora archaeologists is a stele of the early 4th century B.C. (**H30**), discovered *in situ* just northwest of the Agora and facing north on the road leading to the Dipylon. The second, from a modern context, is a fragment of one of a series of vertically inscribed stelai of the mid-4th century, of which another was found displaced and three others are *in situ* outside the Dipylon on the southwest side of the road leading to the Academy (see **H31** and commentary). On the basis of the position of these last three horoi, A. Brueckner and some later scholars have suggested that Kerameikos here refers to the adjacent road.<sup>51</sup> Two other facts have been seen as lending credence to this theory. First, the stelai are inscribed opisthographically (nevertheless, the outer two were set up against tombs and thus were legible only from the roadway).<sup>52</sup> Second, there is *in situ* on the north side of the Dipylon a bedding block

<sup>47</sup> The stratigraphy around horoi **H25** and **H26** showed that they were visible through the 5th and 4th centuries respectively.

<sup>48</sup> See *Agora* XIV, p. 25; R. E. Wycherley, "The Market of Athens: Topography and Monuments," *GaR*, 2nd ser., 3, 1956 (pp. 2-23), p. 3; *idem*, *How the Greeks Built Cities*, 2nd ed., London 1962, p. 52; R. Martin, "Les édifices de la bordure occidentale de l'agora d'Athènes," *BCH* 66-67, 1942-1943 (pp. 348-359), p. 357.

<sup>49</sup> Pollux, 7.132-133; Harpokration, s.v. *Κολωνέτας*; cf. *Agora* III, pp. 90-91, no. 248 and index, s.v. Kolonos Agoraios.

<sup>50</sup> Although **H25** and **H26** are a small sample, their respective use of orthograde and retrograde texts, which at first thought seems to be merely scribal inconsistency, may exemplify Wilhelm's well-accepted theory (*Beiträge*, pp. 31 and 306; cf. Raubitschek, *Dedications*, p. 444) that some late Archaic inscriptions were carved retrograde to be more easily read by persons who approached them from the right. Since the reverse would also be true, an alternation of the direction of lettering from stone to stone would have facilitated reading by passersby in both directions along the road.

<sup>51</sup> See A. Brueckner, "Neue Funde am Kerameikos," *AA* (*JdI* 29) 1914 (pp. 91-95), p. 91; Ohly (footnote 14 above, p. 7), p. 299; Travlos, *PDA*, p. 300. On the subject of the Kerameikos horoi I have profited much from discussions with Judith P. Binder and from her knowledge of the bibliography; responsibility for error is, of course, my own.

<sup>52</sup> By the late 4th century these stones were buried by an addition to the city's fortifications, which accounts for their preservation and the exceptional sharpness of their lettering; see K. Gebauer, "Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos," *AA* (*JdI* 55) 1940 (pp. 308-362), pp. 344-362 and *AA* (*JdI* 57) 1942 (pp. 200-258), pp. 206-220; Ohly (footnote 14 above, p. 7), pp. 303-306.

containing the stump of a marble stele which approximates in its horizontal dimensions those on the opposite side of the road.<sup>53</sup> Against the interpretation of the ὅροι Κεραμεικοῦ as markers of the road are two arguments *ex silentio*, but cogent. First, all verifiable horoi of roads use the word ὁδός. Second, and more compelling, is the fact that many ancient sources refer to the Kerameikos as a district but none uses the name unequivocally of a road. The width of this thoroughfare beyond the Dipylon looks less like that of a normal road than of a ceremonial dromos which might have been used for funerals and festival events.<sup>54</sup> Still, this is not strong evidence that this *via lata*, as Livy (31.24) called the road beyond the Dipylon, is what the horoi mean by the Kerameikos.

Some ancient commentators<sup>55</sup> speak of a deme Kerameikos, and a few modern scholars have assumed that the Kerameikos horoi refer to such a deme.<sup>56</sup> Although the Kerameikos may have been popularly confused with the deme Kerameis, most scholars now agree on good evidence that only the latter was a deme.<sup>57</sup> The Kerameikos or "Potters' Quarter" existed long before the Kleisthenic reforms, and the name of Kerameis, like that of many other demes, would have been derived from its locale.<sup>58</sup> From the extant evidence one cannot determine whether the deme was coextensive with the district, lay within it, or overlapped it. The quality of the horoi, their prominent location, and the mention of the Kerameikos in at least one decree suggest an official region<sup>59</sup> rather than simply a popularly named quarter of the city, but here again there is no certainty.

The Kerameikos horoi offer no clues as to how far the Kerameikos district extended laterally from the road. Southward, the so-called Street of the Tombs near the Sacred Way was probably part of the cemetery with which the Kerameikos was often equated, and the area of Skiron on the Eleusis road, with its prostitution and gambling, may have contributed to the Kerameikos' reputation for *porneia*.<sup>60</sup> If the quarter extended also north of the Dipylon road, a logical limit might have been the road to Kolonos Hippios, which exited the Themistoclean Wall at the Eriai Gate. The extent of the Kerameikos along the horos-lined road is a slightly more profitable quest. The boundary stone inside the Dipylon (H30) shows that the district overlapped the Themistoclean Wall and explains the ancient references to "two Kerameikoi", which modern writers sometimes call Inner and Outer Kerameikos. Some sources, especially of late antiquity, include the Agora in the Kerameikos, but Thucydides implies that its easterly extent was short of the Agora when he says (6.57.1–3) that Hippias was "outside in what is called the Kerameikos" and that the tyrannicides "rushed at once within the gates, and meeting Hipparchos by the so-called Leokorion,<sup>61</sup> they immediately fell upon him." Presumably the Archaic city wall and its gate were closer to the Agora than to the later Dipylon. This wall probably defined the inner limits of the Archaic Kerameikos, and, with its demise, the name became less precise and was eventually extended to include the Agora. Outward from the Dipylon, the Kerameikos most likely extended along the one and a half kilometers to the Academy.<sup>62</sup> Archaeologists have

<sup>53</sup> See S. Koumanoudes, *Πρακτικά* 1874, pp. 15–16; Ohly (footnote 14 above, p. 7), p. 311; Travlos, *PDA*, p. 300.

<sup>54</sup> See *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 334, line 25 (restored). It may not be coincidental that the narrowing of this road and the burying of the horoi and adjacent tombs (see footnote 53 above) occurred about the time of the sumptuary laws of Demetrios of Phaleron (317/6 B.C.); while defense may have been the primary reason for these drastic renovations, the climate of the sumptuary laws may have facilitated them.

<sup>55</sup> E.g. scholia to Aristophanes, *Birds* 395.

<sup>56</sup> E.g., A. Milchhöfer, *Untersuchungen über die Demeordnung des Kleisthenes*, Berlin 1892, p. 23; Lauter, p. 300 and note 5; Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 167–168.

<sup>57</sup> See *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 883: [Κερ]αμέων|[τρ]ιττός (for the defense of this restoration, see Traill, *Demos and Trittyis*, pp. 97–98); II<sup>2</sup>, 2362, line 58; Harpokration, *s.v.* Κεραμείς; B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 9, 1940 (pp. 53–96), p. 53. The deme Oion Kerameikon was probably near Kerameis, but it is unlikely that it went by the name Kerameikos; see Traill, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 44 and note 17.

<sup>58</sup> See Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 175.

<sup>59</sup> See *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 968, line 14; cf. *ibid.*, 334, line 25. Compare the κῶμαι into which Athens was divided for administrative and defensive purposes: Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 175 and note 2.

<sup>60</sup> See *Agora* III, pp. 222–223.

<sup>61</sup> H. A. Thompson (*Agora* XIV, pp. 121–123) asserts that a small hero shrine unearthed in 1971 just north of the Agora Square is a likely candidate for the Leokorion; cf. T. L. Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971," *Hesperia* 42, 1973 (pp. 121–179), pp. 126–130; *idem*, "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1972," *Hesperia* 42, 1973 (pp. 359–407), pp. 360–369.

<sup>62</sup> The only testimonia which put the Academy in the Kerameikos are late and dubious: e.g., Hesychios, *s.v.* Ἀκαδημία; Stephanos of Byzantium, *s.v.* Ἐκαδημία.



had only sporadic glimpses of the northwesterly road beyond the excavations of the German Archaeological Institute around the Dipylon, and no further horoi have been found *in situ*. Nevertheless, one of the stones in this series was discovered in 1955 lying loose beneath Alexandria Street, about 200 meters from the entrance to the Academy (see commentary on H31). It is likely that this was one of the outermost of a line of roadside horoi marking the extent of the Kerameikos from the Dipylon to the Academy.

## HOROI OF ROADS

Excavations in the Athenian Agora have yielded four of the twenty or so extant road horoi from Athens, Peiraieus, and Eleusis. As all but two of the total have been displaced from their original locations, it is impossible to estimate with any confidence the volume and distribution of this type. It is probable, however, that the Agora and its environs, as the hub of many important roads, had a considerable number of these markers during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The texts of road horoi fall roughly into two groups, those with the words ὄρος ὁδοῦ alone in one order or the other, and those which identify the road by name, destination, particular use, or reference to the property which it bounded.

The usually fine craftsmanship of road horoi and the fact that roads were chiefly public property make it likely that most of these markers were erected by the state. The ten Astynomoi, as overseers of public boundaries in Athens and Peiraieus, had among their duties the protection of streets from obstruction by buildings, balconies, open drains, doors, and windows (*Ath. Pol.* 50.2). To these ends, boundary stones, including the simple ὄρος ὁδοῦ (H32, H35),<sup>63</sup> would have marked the legitimate expanse of roads at busy and vulnerable points. Like other horoi at the sides of roads they would also have served to deter the encroachment of roads upon public precincts, a problem already noted in the cases of small shrines in areas of heavy traffic.<sup>64</sup> This dual role of demarking roads and adjacent property is evident in the texts of several 5th-century markers from the Peiraieus which have been associated with the planning of that region by Hippodamos of Miletos.<sup>65</sup> The double duty indicated by the texts of two companion stelai (*IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 887 a and b: ἐμπορίοι καὶ ὁδοὶ ὁρόις) is proved by the discovery of the first of them *in situ* just southeast of the Kantharos harbor beside a road bordering the merchants' exchange.<sup>66</sup> Although we have no boundary stones of the city-demes, streets and roads may have served as their borders,<sup>67</sup> as we know they did for other divisions and properties of the city. The Peiraieus district again provides examples in the form of scattered 5th-century horoi with texts indicating that they stood at the edges of roads and delimited, respectively, the naval harbor,<sup>68</sup> the *asty*,<sup>69</sup> Mounychia,<sup>70</sup> and one unidentifiable precinct.<sup>71</sup> Among the elaborate horoi of roads are those which not only served as boundary stones but also had an informative function like that of modern road signs. Three extant stelai with the message "Horos of the road to Eleusis"<sup>72</sup> exemplify the special attention given to highways which were important for their traffic, destination, and use as processional routes. Wide

<sup>63</sup> *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 877, 878, 902; II<sup>2</sup>, 2625, 2626.

<sup>64</sup> See p. 9 and footnotes 30–33 above.

<sup>65</sup> Most recently by A. Burns, "Hippodamus and the Planned City," *Historia* 25, 1976, pp. 414–428, esp. 417–418; the words *νεύμεται* and *νέμεσις* in *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 893 and 894 are particularly congenial to this association in the light of Burns's demonstration that Hippodamos' invention was not the grid plan but the planned allocation of areas of the city for specific needs; cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 1267b; Photios, s.v. Ἱπποδάμου νέμεσις.

<sup>66</sup> Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 446–447 and plan III; D. K. Hill, "Some Boundary Stones from the Piraeus," *AJA* 36, 1932 (pp. 254–259), pp. 256–257; it was probably these horoi that Demosthenes (35.28) referred to as *σημεῖα τοῦ ἐμπορίου*.

<sup>67</sup> R. S. Young, "An Industrial District of Ancient Athens," *Hesperia* 20, 1951 (pp. 135–228), pp. 140–143; see also Langdon (footnote 38 above, p. 10), pp. 11–13.

<sup>68</sup> *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 892; a duplicate of this horos was found in a modern house wall near the Akropolis; see Hill (footnote 66 above), pp. 254–255, figs. 1 and 2; Judeich (*Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 431) linked this pair with *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 887 a and b and the emporium of Kantharos harbor, but Hill is probably right in assigning them to an ancient street running from west of Zea northeastward to the propylon.

<sup>69</sup> *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 893; the provenience of this inscription and the fact that it shares the formula peculiar to Peiraieus horoi puts this *asty* in the harbor region (Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte*, p. 44) rather than the upper city (Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 430).

<sup>70</sup> *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 894.

<sup>71</sup> *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 895; *ibid.*, 902 (Eleusis) may also have been of this class, but three lines have been erased; see also *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2630, line 4.

<sup>72</sup> *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 881; II<sup>2</sup>, 2624; *Kerameikos* III, p. 19, no. 18 and pl. 5.

roads, particularly those used for festival parades, were sometimes called ὁδοὶ πλατεῖαι or simply πλατεῖαι.<sup>73</sup> A late Athenian horos (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2628: ὅρ[ος] δη[μοσίας] πλα[τείας]), if correctly restored, marked such an avenue. A decree of 320/19 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 380) charges the Agoranomoi of the Peiraieus, who at the time had taken over the responsibility of the Astynomoi for boundaries and streets,<sup>74</sup> with care of the broad streets used for the ritual processions of Zeus Soter and Dionysos. Of the two “road signs” found loose in the Agora excavations, the “Horos of the Ancestral Road” (**H33**) suggests a route of long-standing importance, but it cannot be assigned to any road known from literature or archaeology. The even more solemn “Horos of the Sacred Road by which the Pythais journeys to Delphi” (**H34**) was found near the Panathenaic Way and may have marked that thoroughfare as the first stage of the theoria of the Pythais from the Pythion on the north-west slope of the Akropolis to the corresponding sanctuary at Delphi.

Another kind of road sign, of which we have little extant archaeological evidence, is that which informed the public of the distances between points. For example, the 4th-century rock-cut horos marking the upper path around the Akropolis also notes the length of the circuit (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2639: [τ]οῦ περιπάτο περιόδου π(έντε) σ(τάδια) πόδες ΔΠΙΙΙ). Similarly, a verse inscription (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2640), not strictly a horos, tells us that the distance from the harbor to the Altar of the Twelve Gods is 45 stades. This altar in the Agora Square was, according to Herodotos (2.7.1–2), the central milestone from which the Athenians reckoned distances in the city, the country, and beyond.

### TRITTYS MARKERS

Since the 1860's, excavations and chance finds in Athens and Piraeus have yielded 15 trittys markers,<sup>75</sup> which are divisible into two categories on the basis of their textual formulas. The “complex” or Δεῦρε type, which I shall discuss first, is represented by five inscriptions from the Agora excavations (**H36**, **H38**, **H39**, **H41**, **H42**), one from the Akropolis, and five from Peiraieus.<sup>76</sup> Although these stones show evidence of a variety of letter cutters, the letter forms, especially β and Ϛ when they occur, date all of them to about the middle of the 5th century. Each of the texts began with the word δεῦρε (“here”) to mark a dividing point where, as it goes on to say, either a tribe and one of its trittyes end and another tribe and trittys begin, or one trittys ends and another of the same tribe begins.<sup>77</sup>

Early in the study of the Δεῦρε inscriptions their formulas and limited provenience made it apparent that they were not boundary stones of the trittyes but markers of public stations where citizens were segregated according to tribe and trittys. If the ancient arrangement was linear, with the first stone marking the division of the first and second trittyes of the first tribe and the last stone marking the division of the second and third trittyes of the last tribe, then there was a total of 29 stones, 9 of the tribe/trittys type and each of these followed and preceded by 2 of the trittys type. In a circular arrangement the total would be 30. A third possibility neither indicated nor precluded by the evidence is a linear series of 31 stones in which an opening stone marked the beginning of the first tribe and its first trittys, and a closing stone marked the end of the last tribe and its third trittys. The order of the tribes as far as it can be reconstructed in this system differs from the tribal cycle that is “regular” from the early 4th century on, but since it is approximated in several other sources, it was possibly an earlier canonical order.<sup>78</sup> The extant texts also indicate that the tribal stations

<sup>73</sup> See LSJ, s.v. πλατύς, I, 1 and II, a.

<sup>74</sup> See Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 313, note 6.

<sup>75</sup> The word ὅρος does not appear on these stones, nor do scholars classify them as horoi in the common sense of the word. Nevertheless, since they had functions similar to those of horoi, it seems reasonable, while recognizing their peculiar character, to follow the tradition of the *Corpus* and treat them together with the horoi.

<sup>76</sup> Akropolis: *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 885 and note (this stone can now be viewed reasonably as a stray from the Agora group); Peiraieus: *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 897–901; cf. *SEG* X, 388; see Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, pp. 94–95, maps 2 and 3, and p. 112.

<sup>77</sup> The best-preserved examples of the two variations are *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 900 and 898; see Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, p. 92, note 1, on the minor variations and anomalies in these texts.

<sup>78</sup> A. Raubitschek, “The Gates in the Agora,” *AJA* 60, 1956 (pp. 279–282), pp. 280–281, note 4; Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, pp. 111–112.

were, with the exception of that of Hippothontis, subdivided in an official sequence of city, inland, and coastal trittys.<sup>79</sup>

Not long after the Peiraieus texts came to light, scholars made the connection between them and the testimony of Demosthenes (14.23) that Athenian seamen were marshaled by tribe and trittys near the ship-sheds in the naval harbor of Zea.<sup>80</sup> After five more  $\Delta\epsilon\upsilon\pi\epsilon$  inscriptions were unearthed in the Agora excavations, Raubitschek, while accepting the theory of their use at the military parade stations, adduced further literary evidence to show that the markers served also at gateways where magistrates could check citizens by tribe and trittys as they entered enclosed areas to receive allotments of grain (in the Agora and market area of Peiraieus) or to cast ballots in the *ostrakophoriai* (in the Agora).<sup>81</sup> Thus far, the evidence of the texts and their provenience leaves open the possibility that there were just two systems of trittys markers, one for each of the chief open areas of the upper city and the port.<sup>82</sup> The limited chronology of the stones is harder to explain. The cessation of ostracism may have contributed to their demise, but their other functions must have continued. One may speculate either that the original sets of markers lasted for a long time, or that they were eventually replaced by others of less durable material such as wood. In either case, the use of such markers would not likely have survived the addition to the constitution of the tribes of Antigonis and Demetrias in 307/6 B.C., at which the trittyes lost most of their political significance.<sup>83</sup>

Of the trittys markers that may be called the "simple" type, only four (**H37**, **H40**; *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 883, 884) have thus far come to light. Each is inscribed, apparently by a different letter cutter, with the name of the collective members of a trittys in the genitive case followed by the word  $\tau\pi\iota\tau\tau\upsilon\varsigma$ , or *vice versa*. This textual brevity and the mixing of old Attic and newer Ionic forms discourage close dating by letter forms, but the three-barred sigmas of **H37** and *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 884 put them near the mid-5th century, while the lettering of the other two is datable from mid-century to as much as three decades later.<sup>84</sup> Thus, they are somewhat lacking in uniformity, but their being parts of a single system is not precluded.

When the first two simple trittys markers were found, their provenience indicated that they might be marshaling stones for the assembly on the Pnyx,<sup>85</sup> but, as they were of the city trittyes Kerameis and Lakia-dai, they were also interpreted as boundary stones of the actual political districts.<sup>86</sup> The Agora excavations subsequently produced the marker for another city trittys, Skambonidai (**H37**), but also one for Sphettos (**H40**), the inland trittys of Akamantis. The latter stone, therefore, either found its way to the city center from the Mesogeia, or it is not a boundary stone. If the trittyes customarily had boundary stones, the discovery of only four singletons in Athens, and even fewer and less certain candidates beyond the city,<sup>87</sup> would be surprising. The hypothesis that the simple trittys stones are from the Pnyx has recently been

<sup>79</sup> Raubitschek, *loc. cit.*; see also P. J. Bicknell, "The City and Inland Trittys of Phyle VIII Hippothontis," *Antichthon* 7, 1973, pp. 1–4; Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, pp. 110–111.

<sup>80</sup> C. Shaefer, "Die attische Trittyeneinteilung," *AM* 5, 1880 (pp. 85–88), p. 85; Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 440 and note 3; although none of the Peiraieus markers was found *in situ*, and even the general proveniences of two of them are unknown, two (*IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 897, 899) were found near Zea.

<sup>81</sup> Raubitschek (footnote 78 above, p. 14), pp. 278–280, 282; Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, pp. 112–113; it may not be coincidence that all the stones are thick enough to stand without the bedding required of most stelai; thus movable, they could have been stored and set up when and where the occasion demanded.

<sup>82</sup> *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 885 (Akropolis) is plausibly a duplicate of 897 (Peiraieus), as is **H39** of *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 899.

<sup>83</sup> See W. K. Pritchett, *The Five Tribes after Kleisthenes*, Baltimore 1943, pp. 27–29, notes 56–63; Traill, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, pp. 25, 64, and note 22.

<sup>84</sup> See K. Kourouniotes and H. A. Thompson, "The Pnyx in Athens," *Hesperia* 1, 1932 (pp. 90–217), p. 105, note 2; *SEG* X, 370; Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, pp. 93–98, esp. pp. 97–98 on the restoration of *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 883.

<sup>85</sup> Shaefer (footnote 80 above), p. 87; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristoteles und Athen* II, Berlin 1893, pp. 166–167. Although none of the four stones was discovered *in situ*, all their finding places are reasonably compatible with an original location on the Pnyx: *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 883 (west slope of the Areopagus); 884 (not far from the bema of the Pnyx); **H37** (southeast corner of the Agora Square); **H40** (northeast slope of the Areopagus); Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, p. 94, map 2, and p. 112; regarding the proveniences of the two in *IG*, cf. P. Siewert, *Die Trittyen Attikas und die Heeresreform des Kleisthenes* (*Vestigia* XXXIII), Munich 1982, p. 12 and note 58.

<sup>86</sup> Kourouniotes and Thompson (footnote 84 above), *loc. cit.*; cf. *RE* XXI, 1951, s.v. Pnyx, cols. 1114–1115 (E. Meyer).

<sup>87</sup> Cf. footnote 39 above, p. 10.

closely re-examined by Siewert,<sup>88</sup> who concludes that they were used as markers, either of sections of the auditorium where citizens were seated by trittys or of gateways outside where officials, such as the *συλλογείς τοῦ δήμου* attested in later sources,<sup>89</sup> could verify the credentials of citizens before they entered the assembly place. Two 5th-century allusions to the *Ekklesia*<sup>90</sup> imply that seating was a matter of choice, and even in *cheirotomia* the counting of votes by seating sections does not necessarily imply division by trittys.<sup>91</sup> Nevertheless, Xenophon's account of the Demos voting by tribe at the trial of the strategoi of Arginousai (*Hellenica* 1.7.9) implies tribal seating in which subdivisions by trittys would have been plausible. Three stele beddings were found in the excavation of the auditorium of Period I of the Pnyx (latter half of the 5th century),<sup>92</sup> and Siewert makes a good case for their compatibility with the simple trittys stones.<sup>93</sup>

These simple markers then, like their complex counterparts in the Agora and Peiraieus, designated places where citizens mustered by trittys, in this case for meetings of the Demos. Whether they were installed inside or outside the auditorium of the Pnyx, it is evident from their dates that they were in use at least during Period I. Beyond that we can only speculate that they may have been saved at the time of the radical reconstruction of the auditorium about 400 B.C. and re-used in the following century. In any case, they, like the *Δεῦρε* inscriptions, would not have survived the reorganization of the constitution in 307/6.

### HOROI OF GRAVE SITES

Although burials ceased in the immediate area of the Athenian Agora at the end of the 7th century, and from the late Archaic period they were largely restricted to ground outside the city walls,<sup>94</sup> 20 funerary horoi (**H53–H72**)<sup>95</sup> have been found scattered throughout the site. Their largely “homemade” lettering and masonry allow only rough datings within the 5th to 3rd centuries. As the following list illustrates, the funerary horoi vary considerably in their basic formulas (all these variations appear in some instances with the proper name in the genitive, but the addition of a patronymic or demotic is rare; e.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2556, 2558):

<i>Formula</i>	<i>Examples</i>
ὄρος τοῦ δεῖνος	<b>H72</b>
ὄρος μνήματος (μνημάτων, μνημείου)	<b>H53–H65</b>
ὄρος σήματος	<b>H68–H70</b>
ὄρος θήκης (θηκῶν)	<b>H71</b>
ὄρος χωρίου	<i>IG</i> II <sup>2</sup> , 2593
ὄρος χωρίου μνήματος	<i>IG</i> II <sup>2</sup> , 2560
ὄρος μνήματος (vel al.) + dimensions of plot	<b>H66, H67</b>

Horoi seem to avoid the common word *τάφος* in favor of more euphemistic terms for tomb or burial site. Although these terms differ etymologically and connotatively, their meanings in the texts of horoi are markedly similar. *Μνήμα*, literally “memorial”, referred originally to the gravestone, but by the late 5th century the extension of this term to the entire burial plot is evident from texts which define the *μνήμα* by its dimensions in feet (e.g., **H66, H67**) and from multiple horoi which surrounded a single plot (e.g., **H54–H56**). *Σῆμα* in its root sense referred to some visible feature of the grave, such as mound or monument, but,

<sup>88</sup> Siewert (footnote 85 above, p. 15), pp. 12–13.

<sup>89</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1257; Pollux, 8.104.

<sup>90</sup> Aristophanes, *Ekklesiazousai* 86–99; Thucydides, 6.13.1.

<sup>91</sup> A. Boegehold, “Toward a Study of Athenian Voting Procedure,” *Hesperia* 32, 1963 (pp. 366–374), p. 373.

<sup>92</sup> Kourouniotes and Thompson (footnote 84 above, p. 15), *loc. cit.*; note that *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 884 was found with a limestone bedding block still attached.

<sup>93</sup> Siewert (footnote 85 above, p. 15), pp. 12–13, note 62; Thompson (in *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIX, p. 136, note 16) finds this case persuasive. Cf. M. H. Hansen, *Die athenische Volksversammlung im Zeitalter des Demosthenes* (*Xenia* XIII), Konstanz 1984, p. 132, note 211; he argues from the dissimilarities of the four stones that they were not common to a system on the Pnyx. Difference in manufacture, however, could plausibly imply something other than difference in use; each trittys, for example, might have been required to produce its own marker.

<sup>94</sup> Cicero, *ad fam.* 4.12.3; D. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, London 1971, pp. 70, 92.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 903–907; II<sup>2</sup>, 2527–2595; *SEG* XIX, 34; XXI, 655; XXV, 203; XXVI, 228, 229; *Kerameikos* III, nos. 13–17.

as these features also were evocative of memories of the dead, and as this term too was used on multiple horoi around a single plot (e.g., **H68**, **H69**), its meaning in this context was not significantly different from that of *μνήμα*. The famed public burial site of heroic Athenian war dead was called either τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα (Thucydides, 2.34.5, 8) or simply τὸ μνήμα (Lysias, *Epitaphios* 2.63; Plato, *Menexenos* 242C).<sup>96</sup> Horos texts likewise extend the term *θήκη*, technically a receptacle or urn, to signify the grave site or, in the plural, a group of related graves. Finally, the simple inscription ὄρος χωρίου, which in itself could mark land of any kind, clearly became a funerary horos by location at a grave site (e.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2593). And yet χωρίου, with its basic meaning of “ground”, is not redundant in the formula ὄρος χωρίου μνήματος (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2560).

The archaeologist sometimes faces another ambiguity in horoi with the formula ὄρος τοῦ δέινος or the proper name alone in the genitive case. Without contextual evidence, such an inscription is as plausibly the marker of any real property as that of a grave site, and, if the name is that of a god or hero, it would refer to a shrine. For a case in point, the meaning of ὄρος ἑλίκης (**H72**) was disputed until it was determined that Fauvel had found the stone while excavating a cemetery beyond the Acharnai Gate and that therefore it was the funerary horos of a mortal woman, Helike.<sup>97</sup> Conversely, two rupestral inscriptions classified in the *Corpus* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 13246, 13247) as *tituli memoriales* have recently been identified from the evidence of improved readings (Ἀντιόχης and ὄρος Λαοδίκης) and their topography as private-property horoi in which a term such as χωρίου is to be understood.<sup>98</sup>

The great majority of extant horoi of burial sites are singletons. Since proper protection of a site presupposes the marking of its full dimensions, we may assume that these stones are either parts of lost multiple sets or single markers of sites otherwise defined, for example by walls or platforms.<sup>99</sup> As mentioned above, the use of multiple horoi around burial plots is evident in the Agora inventory of three stones (**H54–H56**) that are clearly a set and of two of the three extant horoi of Onesimos (**H68**, **H69**). Athenians also delimited burial sites by means of horoi inscribed with the dimensions of two adjacent sides (e.g., **H66**, **H67**).<sup>100</sup> The areas known from these sorts of inscriptions vary from 9 by 10 feet (**H67**) to 30 by 25 feet (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2563). In order to indicate exact location, such stones would have to be employed in threes at plots on open ground and in pairs at plots beside roads; the latter case is exemplified by two identical horoi discovered *in situ* adjacent to ancient Peiraieus Street in the Kerameikos.<sup>101</sup>

Although funerary horoi are usually distinguished from regular gravestones by the delimiting or marking function implied in the term ὄρος, the two types of inscriptions were probably used interchangeably to some extent. Gravestones were intended primarily to memorialize the deceased by naming them, by displaying sculpture of a decorative, and sometimes biographical, nature, and by locating, but not necessarily delimiting, the tomb. It follows that plots bounded by horoi, especially those without proper names, must ordinarily have had gravestones also. It is also possible, although not demonstrable, that horoi in some cases served in lieu of any registry of cemetery properties as temporary markers before all the burials took place and the site was elaborated with regular monuments; the relatively poor quality of the stone, stonework, and lettering of funerary horoi may in part reflect such interim use. Yet horoi with proper names, such as those of Onesimos, could well have served double duty as boundary stones and memorials.<sup>102</sup> Like all horoi, those of grave sites implied sanctions against intruders by virtue of their sacral and legal character, but at least one

<sup>96</sup> Cf. F. Eichler, “Σῆμα und μνήμα in älteren griechischen Grabinschriften,” *AM* 39, 1914, pp. 138–143.

<sup>97</sup> E. Vanderpool, “Some Attic Inscriptions,” *Hesperia* 35, 1966 (pp. 274–283), pp. 276–277; cf. *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 907 (ὄρος Χσανθίου retrograde), which some have taken to be a marker of simple private property (E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy* II, Cambridge 1905, p. 491, no. 336; Lauter, pp. 300–301 and note 10) but which Vanderpool (p. 277) considers to be a funerary horos because of its finding place near a cemetery in the northeast suburb of the ancient city.

<sup>98</sup> Langdon (footnote 18 above, p. 7), *loc. cit.*; the two names ring of Seleucid influence and even suggest to me the possibility of a cult precinct. Cf. also *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2525 (Ζήνωνος ὄρος) and 2526 (ὄρος Π—), which the *Corpus* places ambiguously between the mixed group of simple “horos” inscriptions and the clearly funerary horoi; although it can no longer be found, the location of *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2525 (“On the rocks near Karies”) apparently has prompted its classification as a horos of private property (Lauter, p. 300, note 3; Ober [footnote 17 above, p. 7], p. 76).

<sup>99</sup> See Kurtz and Boardman (footnote 94 above, p. 16), pp. 105–108.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2561–2566; *Kerameikos* III, nos. 13–16.

<sup>101</sup> *Kerameikos* III, nos. 13 and 14.

<sup>102</sup> See *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2593 for two horoi, apparently of the same grave site, of which just one has the name Protarchos.

of them, like many gravestones, has an explicit prohibition in its text (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2567). Thus, the importance of these markers, which is reflected in their relative abundance among all horoi, lay in the protection of the grave site as a significant part of the ritual of honoring the dead.

### SECURITY HOROI

In the inventory of inscriptions from the Agora, as in that from all Attica, security notices constitute the largest class of horoi.<sup>103</sup> As private documents, few, if any, of these stones would have stood in the ancient Agora. With the exception of a single text (**H89**) *in situ* on an ancient house wall south of the Agora Square, all these horoi were displaced and scattered over this area through the ages. Called “horoi” probably by analogy to other property markers, these inscriptions gave notice of the encumbrance of real property as security for debt, thereby protecting the interest of the creditor by warning off other lenders. Since many security horoi were singletons, they could not usually have delimited property,<sup>104</sup> and even in multiples<sup>105</sup> they need not have served this secondary function.

Although the use of real security was general among Greek peoples, inscribed security horoi seem to be peculiar to Attica and the islands of Amorgos, Lemnos, Naxos, Skyros, and Syros. The presence of Athenian demotic names on Lemnian horoi suggests that their use was exported to the Aegean by cleruch families, yet Amorgos, which had no Athenian colony, had a substantial number of stones.<sup>106</sup> A decree of the deme of Myrrhinous (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1183) ordering the placement of horoi on property it had accepted as security for loans indicates that the markers were not a general requirement of law. They might be cited in court as *prima facie* evidence of debt,<sup>107</sup> but their limited textual information and vulnerability<sup>108</sup> rule them out as official contracts. The need for official documentation was undoubtedly served by such written agreements as are referred to on at least 16 of the security stones.<sup>109</sup>

The three chief classes of credit transactions in which horoi were used were *ὑποθήκη*, *ἀποτίμημα*, and *πῶσις ἐπὶ λύσει*. *Ὑποθήκη* (“something put down”; more often described by the passive *ὑπόκειμαι*) was the colloquial term for any contract in which a debtor’s property was the security, but its specific use is relatively infrequent on the horoi<sup>110</sup> and was probably avoided in favor of the more precise procedures and terms of the other two modes of real security.

In a credit system in which security was substitutive rather than collateral,<sup>111</sup> the institution of *ἀποτίμημα* (“valuation”) was probably an attempt at equity by the evaluation and hypothecation of security in an amount roughly equal to the value of the debt and agreed interest. The two contracts of this type that are commonly represented by horoi are the pupillary *ἀποτίμημα* (the technical term is *μίσθωσις οἴκου*) and *ἀποτίμημα προικός*.<sup>112</sup> In *μίσθωσις οἴκου* (**H73–H77**),<sup>113</sup> the property of orphans was leased at auction to

<sup>103</sup> The two major studies of horoi marking real security are Fine and Finley; see an updating of the material in P. Millett, “The Attic Horoi Reconsidered in the Light of Recent Discoveries,” *Opus* 1, 1982, pp. 219–249; the broad judicial questions raised by the security horoi are summarized in Harrison (footnote 4 above, p. 5), pp. 253–304, 316–317.

<sup>104</sup> Wade-Gery (footnote 2 above, p. 5), p. 879; Guarducci, II, p. 227.

<sup>105</sup> See, for example, Demosthenes, 31.1–3; 41.6, 16; 42.5.

<sup>106</sup> Finley, p. 6 and note 17.

<sup>107</sup> E.g., Demosthenes, 42.5, 28; [Demosthenes], 25.69; cf. Fine, p. 51, note 46.

<sup>108</sup> See Demosthenes, 31.1–4, 12–13; 49.12.

<sup>109</sup> To Finley’s statistics (pp. 12, 172–175, tables A, B, and D; p. 182, 3A; his nos. 163, 168, 169, and 171 among the uncertain fragments are further examples) can be added **H115**; Finley suggested (p. 24) on the basis of the relatively numerous references to written agreements in *ὑποθήκαι* that that form of contract allowed for more complex terms than the *πῶσις ἐπὶ λύσει*.

<sup>110</sup> Finley, pp. 119–122, nos. 1–10, p. 182, 3A; **H114** A and B may be other examples, but because of their mixed terminology, I have given them a separate classification; I classify **H115** as an *antichresis* rather than a hypothec (see p. 19 and footnote 120 below); on the general imprecision of phraseology regarding real security, both on the horoi and in the Attic orators, see Finley, pp. 8, 113, 223, note 7; also Millett (footnote 103 above), p. 226; the literary and epigraphical evidence does not bear out Fine’s argument (pp. 89–95) that the hypothec differed from the *πῶσις ἐπὶ λύσει* in that the security was collateral rather than substitutive and that its ownership was retained by the debtor; cf. Millett, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>111</sup> See Finley, pp. 115–117.

<sup>112</sup> Only three horoi (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2701, 2767; *SEG* XXIII, 96) show *ἀποτίμημα* with the type of contract not noted.

<sup>113</sup> Also Finley, pp. 151–156, nos. 116–131, pp. 189–190, nos. 120 A–129 A; *SEG* XXI, 652; E. Vanderpool, “Some Attic Inscriptions,” *Hesperia* 39, 1970 (pp. 40–46), p. 46; *ἀποτιμήματα* of uncertain type are **H116**, **H117**, **H122**, **H123**, and *SEG* XXIII, 96.

managers who put up real security in the value of the estate and probably its rent and interest. By full term, usually when the oldest child reached maturity, the lessees returned the estate plus agreed earnings or forfeited their ἀποτίμημα. The Eponymous Archon, who was responsible for the welfare of orphans (*Ath. Pol.* 56.7; Isaios, 6), probably oversaw the evaluation and leasing of their estates. The orphans, as beneficiaries of the security, are identified on the horoi, usually by the term παῖς, rarely by their own names, and always by their patronymics. The second common use of ἀποτίμημα in real security is succinctly described by Harpokration (*s.v.* Ἀποτιμηταί): “The people of that time had the custom, when relatives gave a dowry to a woman who married, of requiring of the husband some security equal to the value of the dowry, such as house or land.” Thus, on the horoi of ἀποτίμημα προικός (H78–H83),<sup>114</sup> the security referred to is always real estate, but most of the dowries, as large as they are, were probably money and other movable goods.<sup>115</sup> The term of dotal contracts would naturally be indefinite, with forfeiture of the dowry or its security usually occurring only with divorce or the death of a wife without issue. Unlike the orphan in the notice of μίσθωσις οἴκου, the bride is usually named on the dotal horos.

Although no extant literary source mentions πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει by name,<sup>116</sup> this mode of contractual credit employed more horoi (H84–H113, H124?)<sup>117</sup> than any other. As the name of the procedure indicates, the debtor sold real security to his creditor while retaining the right of redeeming the property upon fulfillment of the contract at an agreed or indeterminate time.<sup>118</sup> The typical horos in these cases says nothing about the debtor or the nature of his debt but always mentions the kind of property offered as security, often listing the amount of debt and usually naming the creditor. When the horos text lacks the words ἐπὶ λύσει (H91, H108; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2763, 2764; *XII* 8, 22), it is probably an abbreviated notice of the credit contract rather than one of a simple sale.

Security horoi rarely indicate who held the securing property during the life of the contract, but their protective purpose and naming of creditors make little sense unless the debtor retained possession.<sup>119</sup> Thus, πρᾶσις in these cases denotes “sale” without change of possession. As for cases of ἀποτίμημα, there would be little incentive to lease an estate or accept a dowry if the prospective lessee or bridegroom had to hand over real estate of equal or greater value. An exception to this rule of possession is evident in the texts of horoi for a type of hypothec which some scholars call *antichresis* (H115).<sup>120</sup> The parties to these contracts apparently agreed that the creditor, instead of taking interest or rent, would possess the real security of his debtor and its usufruct. This possession, like the ownership in πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει, was provisory as long as the debtor met the terms of the contract. In *antichresis*, the horoi would still have been intended to discourage further financial risk of the property, but for the protection of the debtor rather than the creditor.

Since the location of security horoi, and any pertinent written agreements, would have identified clearly the nature, use, and location of the real securities, most horos inscriptions refer to these properties only in such general terms as χωρίον (land), οἰκία (building), and ἐργαστήριον (business establishment);<sup>121</sup> a small minority of the texts are more specific about the main property or mention attached properties to emphasize that they are part of the security: tavern with garden (H106); furnace or kiln (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2750); stone quarry (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2752); privy (H110; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2742; cf. *ibid.*, 2496, line 9); slaves attached to businesses (H125; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>114</sup> Also Finley, pp. 156–163, nos. 132–156, p. 190, no. 152 A; *SEG* XXI, 653, 654; cf. XXXI, 151.

<sup>115</sup> H119–H121 and *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2666 and 2670 are possibly horoi of real property used as dowry but probably abbreviated dotal ἀποτιμήματα in which the reality is security; although the horoi and the orators are inconclusive on the point, some modern scholars believe that occasionally a bride’s family may have put up real estate as *apotimema* for a promised dowry or even given as dowry real estate which at the same time served as *apotimema* for the possible return of the dowry; see Harrison (footnote 4 above, p. 5), pp. 297–301.

<sup>116</sup> Demosthenes may have alluded to it at 33.5–12 and 37.4–5.

<sup>117</sup> Also Finley, pp. 122–151, nos. 11–115, pp. 182–189, nos. 18 A–101 B, 114 A and B; *SEG* XIX, 184; XXI, 655, 656, 661; XXIX, 157; XXX, 122; XXXI, 150; XXXII, 236; XXXIII, 175; *Δελτ* 17, 1961–1962 (1963), *Χρονικά*, p. 35, no. 4; *Δελτ* 26, 1971 (1975), p. 458; *Δελτ* 29, 1973–1974 (1979), p. 31.

<sup>118</sup> Neither literary sources nor horoi are instructive about the duration of these contracts, but they probably varied considerably. The brief and frequent hypothecations of a building which Meritt saw in H78 and H84 (*q.v.*) were probably not the norm.

<sup>119</sup> The debtor’s retention is also indicated in Demosthenes, 41.5–6; 42.5, 28.

<sup>120</sup> Also Fine, p. 38, no. 6; cf. Finley, pp. 119–122, nos. 1, 2, and 10; regarding the term *antichresis*, cf. Finley, p. 12, notes 12 and 13 and Miller, “Horoi”, p. 280, note 14.

<sup>121</sup> On the generality and ambiguity of these terms, see Finley, pp. 56–71.

2747–2749, 2751); sources of water (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2657, 2759). Although the Athenians also used movable property as credit security (*ἐνέχυρον*), they apparently did not give notice of such transactions on horoi as the islanders sometimes did.<sup>122</sup> Because of the scattering of most security horoi from their original locations, and because of the varying extent of recovery from place to place, we cannot with any confidence correlate the types of property used as real security with the various regions of Athens and Attica.

The amounts of debt noted on horoi, ranging from 150 drachmas in a *πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2704) to 8000 drachmas in a dotal *ἀποτίμημα* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2659),<sup>123</sup> clearly reflect the upper economic stratum of Athenian society. The figures do not, however, allow us to determine the values of property designated as security.<sup>124</sup> In *ἀποτίμημα* as well as other contracts of credit, the value of the encumbered property must usually have exceeded the amount of debt, at least to create incentive for credit or to cover rent and interest. Disposal of the excess of security may in some cases have been negotiated as part of the contract<sup>125</sup> and accomplished in the form of money or other movables, but, in view of the basically substitutional character of Athenian security, the creditor must as a rule have had the right of the real security in its entirety.<sup>126</sup>

Some horoi prove exceptions to the general rule of single creditors, especially in *πράσεις ἐπὶ λύσει* (e.g., **H95**, **H98**),<sup>127</sup> but it is often not clear whether the multiple buyers of the same security were acting jointly or severally. In the cases of multiple contracts noted on the same stone, it is sometimes difficult to tell whether they were concurrent or consecutive, and whether they concerned the same property or were coincidental uses of the same stone.<sup>128</sup> Joint lending was clearly the case with the *ἐρανισταί* (**H84**, **H89**, **H94**),<sup>129</sup> so called because they granted *ἐρανοί*, that is, interest-free loans.<sup>130</sup> Other horoi show that Athenian political and social institutions used the same modes of credit and real security as those of private citizens. The Athenian Demos itself, since it demanded personal guarantors (*ἐγγυηταί*) from its debtors and had *a priori* the right of confiscation, had no need of real security, but among the creditors noted in horos inscriptions are demes (**H92**, **H99**), tribes (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2670), clans (*ibid.*), and phratries (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2723).

As difficult to date as the horoi are, there is general agreement that their lettering, orthography, and occasional naming of archons<sup>131</sup> point to a range from the early 4th to the early 2nd century B.C.<sup>132</sup> The earlier terminus is reflected approximately in the orators, where the first references to hypothecation of real property occur in the late 5th century.<sup>133</sup> The absence of security horoi in the 5th century and earlier cannot be mere coincidence, nor is it very likely that the Athenians used only markers of perishable material in a period when stone was so common for other kinds of horoi. Real security implies alienability of family

<sup>122</sup> See Finley, pp. 72–73; he believes that movable security, including slaves, would have been taken in pawn by the creditor.

<sup>123</sup> For a full view of the statistics, see Finley, pp. 172–175, tables A–D, and the updated account in Millett (footnote 103 above, p. 18), pp. 222–223, 243–245; Millett rightly rejects as a security horos Finley's no. 178B (pp. 240–241), which may have had a figure in the tens of drachmas.

<sup>124</sup> Finley, pp. 69–70.

<sup>125</sup> So Fine (pp. 94–95, 139–140; cf. pp. 160–161) rightly saw no excess of security in *πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει* because it is a sale, but his view that a debtor could encumber excess security in a hypothec is based on the dubious premise that the hypothecated property was collateral; see the references to Fine and Millett in footnote 110 above, p. 18.

<sup>126</sup> See Finley, pp. 115–117.

<sup>127</sup> See also **H88**; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2692, 2693, 2695, 2705, 2724, 2725, 2753?; Fine, pp. 32–33, nos. 15 and 17, p. 40, no. 12; *SEG* XXI, no. 656. On the question of multiple creditorship, cf. Fine, pp. 154–156; Finley, pp. 107–117.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. **H89**, **H78** with **H84**, and **H94**.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2699–2701, 2719, 2721, 2722, 2743; Vanderpool (footnote 97 above, p. 17), pp. 277–279, no. 4; *SEG* XXIII, 96; XXXII, 236; *IG* XII 7, 58 (Amorgos); XII 8, 20 (Lemnos).

<sup>130</sup> See Finley, pp. 100–106.

<sup>131</sup> For a summary of the 23 horoi that bear archons' names see Millett (footnote 103 above, p. 18), pp. 221–222; the earliest and latest are, respectively, Charikleides (363/2 B.C.: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2654) and Pleistainos (184/3 B.C.; see footnote 132 below); additionally, an unpublished horos dated by an archon's name has been seen on Lemnos (R. S. Stroud, "Inscriptions from the North Slope of the Acropolis, I," *Hesperia* 40, 1971 [pp. 146–204], p. 170, note 24).

<sup>132</sup> On the basis of letter forms, including lunate sigma, and the tentative restoration of Charias as the archon's name in **H116**, Fine (pp. 26–27, 48–50) put the lower terminus in the mid-2nd century. Finley (p. 7) noted rightly at the time that there was only indisputable documentation to about 250 B.C. Subsequent discoveries of other dated horoi and corrections of archons' years have lowered this date. K. Peppas-Delmouzou's virtually certain restoration of Π[λει]σταίνου as the archon's name on a horos from near Brauron («Ὁροι ἐξ Ἀττικῆς», *Δελτ* 17, 1961–1962 [1962], pp. 215–217, no. 2) brings the *terminus ante quem* down to at least 184/3 B.C. (for the date see B. D. Merritt, "Athenian Archons 347/6–48/7," *Historia* 26, 1977 [pp. 161–191], p. 181 with references).

<sup>133</sup> Isokrates(?), 21 (ca. 403 B.C.); Lysias, 32 (composed in 400, but concerning events as early as 409 B.C.).



estates, and, although most scholars have dated alienability as early as the time of Solon,<sup>134</sup> Fine makes an attractive, albeit circumstantial, case<sup>135</sup> that the early evidence from literature and the horoi marks the beginning not only of the use of real security but also of the alienability which made its use possible. He would associate this evolution with the widespread debt, dispossession, and confiscation of land during the Peloponnesian War. The apparent cessation of security horoi in the early 2nd century is also problematic in that the use of real security for debt clearly continued thereafter. Here the evidence allows little more than conclusions *ex silentio*, but most probably the horoi became obsolete after the creation of another means of notice of encumbrance,<sup>136</sup> perhaps a public registry.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>134</sup> E.g., Glotz, *La solidarité*, pp. 325–349; Finley, p. 28; Guarducci, III, p. 233.

<sup>135</sup> Fine, pp. 167–208.

<sup>136</sup> Finley, pp. 27, 177–181.

<sup>137</sup> Fine, pp. 50–55.

# CATALOGUE

## 1. HOROI OF SANCTUARIES (H1–H24)

**H1** (Pl. 1). Upper right corner of a slab of Pentelic marble (I 7047). The inscribed face has been smoothed with a toothed chisel, but the preserved right and top edges and the back have been roughly worked. Found in August 1968 in a wall of the 7th century after Christ or later, at the northeast corner of the post-Herulian exedra which was added to the west hall of the Southwest Bath (D 18).

H. 0.305 m.; W. 0.249 m.; Th. 0.058 m.; L.H. 0.032 m.

Ed. T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 38, 1969, p. 417.

ca. a. 475–450 a.

[<sup>ʼ</sup>Aθ]εναίᾱς

[<sup>ʼ</sup>Ιτ]ορείας

Athena Itonia is attested in the treasury inventories of the Other Gods in 429/8 B.C. (*IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 383, V, lines 151–152).

**H2** (Pl. 1). Rough-picked stele of white marble (I 7006) perhaps broken away at the top. Inscribed vertically from top to bottom in smooth-dressed band at center. Found (with a second matching inscription, subsequently lost) *in situ* at the southwest corner of a shrine on the southwest side of the Areopagus (C 28). Moved to the Stoa of Attalos after unauthorized removal from shrine, October 1965.

H. 0.53 m.; W. 0.23 m.; Th. 0.13 m.; L.H. 0.027–0.040 m.

Ed. J. Kirchner, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2507; W. Doerpfeld, *AM* 17, 1892, p. 91; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 36, 1967, pp. 98–99, no. 30, photograph pl. 28; *SEG* XXIV, 56.

ante med. saec. V a.

hópos

In the 4th century B.C. the shrine was covered over by another building marked by two stelai inscribed hópos λέσχης (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2620 a and b); see Doerpfeld, *loc. cit.*

**H3.** Fragment of a poros stele (I 4773) found on April 23, 1937, built into a modern or Late Turkish wall northeast of the Temple of Ares (L 7). The stele is broken off at

the bottom, but the other edges and the back are partially preserved.

H. 0.265 m.; W. 0.365 m.; Th. 0.22 m.; L.H. 0.055 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 38, no. 3, photograph p. 38; Travlos, *PDA*, p. 323 and fig. 425; *SEG* X, 357.

prim. med. saec. V a.

[N]υμφα-

[ί]ο ηιερό

hópos

The sanctuary of the Nymphs has not been located with certainty, but most conjectures put it on the north-west slope of the Akropolis (e.g., Meritt; Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 302); Travlos suggests identification with the Klepsydra whose spring was named after the nymph Empedo. A relief sculpture of nymphs and other deities found on the north slope of the Areopagus may originally have been a dedication in the Nymphaion marked by this horos (see *Agora Guide*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 192–193, fig. 100).

**H4.** Stele of Hymettian marble (I 6311) with original rough-quarried surfaces and broken right edge; large deeply cut letters. Found on May 29, 1950, beneath the floor of the Stoa of Attalos, in front of the eighth shop from the south end (Q 11).

H. 0.365 m.; W. 0.35 m.; Th. 0.10 m.; L.H. 0.060 m.

Ed. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 20, 1951, p. 53, photograph pl. 27:a.

prim. med. saec. V a.

[Δ]εμέτρο[s]

hópos

The specific site to which this horos belonged has not been identified, but it may have been one of a number of cult spots in the area of the Eleusinion southeast of the Agora; cf. *Agora* III, pp. 84–85.

**H5** (Pl. 1). Fragment of a poros stele (I 2080), broken at the bottom and chipped at the top. The surface is rough

picked except for the upper 0.27 m. of the front face, which is dressed smooth for the inscription. Found on November 19, 1934, in a modern house wall over the southeast part of the Odeion of Agrippa (M-N 11).

H. 0.60 m.; W. 0.38 m.; Th. 0.23 m.; L.H. 0.048–0.057 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 8, 1939, p. 48, no. 14, photograph p. 48; *ibid.*, *Hesperia* 5, 1936, p. 41; *Agora* III, p. 65, no. 151; Travlos, *PDA*, pp. 1, 2, 578, figs. 5, 722; *SEG* X, 361.

ca. a. 450 a.

Ἀνακίω  
 ἱερῶ h-  
 ὀρος

The Anakes, most often a cognomen or byname of the Dioskouroi, had their sanctuary, according to Pausanias (1.18.2), below the Aglaurion; scholars have traditionally associated these shrines with the north slope of the Akropolis (see, for example, Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 304), but recently G. Dontas (*Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 60–62) has argued on the evidence of a newly discovered decree that they were located on the east slope.

**H6.** Fragmentary stele of Pentelic marble (I 298), broken at the bottom and left side. The original surface is everywhere rough picked with the exception of a rectangular recess (H. 0.125 m.; depth ca. 0.01 m.) about mid-way down the preserved front face which is dressed smooth for the inscription; found during the pre-excavation period of 1933 in the wall of a modern house over the west end of the Middle Stoa (I 13).

H. 0.552 m.; W. 0.205 m.; Th. 0.16 m.; L.H. 0.030 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 3, 1934, p. 64, no. 56, photograph p. 64; Travlos, *PDA*, p. 274 and fig. 355; *SEG* XVII, 13.

med. saec. V a.

[h ι] ε ρ ὀ ν  
 [τ ὀ h ε] ρ α κ λ έ ο ς

Meritt tentatively associated this stone with the unlocated shrine of Herakles Alexikakos in the deme of Melite, but with the subsequent discovery of a similar inscription and votive reliefs of Herakles north of the Agora, Travlos has suggested that both horoi belonged to another shrine of the hero at that location.

**H7.** Horizontal slab of Hymettian marble (I 2483) broken off at the back, right side, and, possibly, the left side. The bottom surface seems finished for resting as part of the string course of a wall, monument, or altar. Found on February 21, 1935, in a modern wall over the East Stoa near the southeast corner of the Agora Square (P 14).

H. 0.112 m.; W. 0.25 m.; Th. 0.105 m.; L.H. 0.020 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 21, 1952, p. 374, no. 25, photograph pl. 96; *Agora* III, p. 29, no. 39; *Agora* XIV, p. 96 and note 78; *SEG* XII, 64.

ca. med. saec. V a.

Διὸς Ἐ[λευθερίω]

Meritt observes traces of anathyrosis at the left edge and thus views the beginning of the inscription as intact, but Wycherley (*Agora* III, *loc. cit.*) restores [hόρος] Διὸς Ἐ[λευθερίω]. There is general agreement about the restoration of the epithet, which was probably coined after Athens' deliverance from the Persian threat.

**H8** (Pl. 1). Stele of Pentelic marble (I 7012) rough picked on all sides except the upper 0.10 m. of the front face, which is dressed with a toothed chisel as a background for the inscription. Found on September 2, 1966, *in situ* at the northeast corner of a triangular sanctuary just southwest of the Southwest Fountain House (H 16).

H. 0.77 m.; W. 0.27 m.; Th. 0.16 m.; L.H. 0.028 m.

Ed. G. V. Lalonde, *Hesperia* 37, 1968, pp. 127–128, photographs pl. 36:a and d; *SEG* XXIV, 57; *Agora Guide*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 171–172, fig. 89.

ca. a. 430 a.

τ ὀ ἱ ε ρ ὀ

**H9.** Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble (I 5910), broken at the top and sides, with parts of the original rough back and sides preserved and the inscribed area dressed smooth. Found on May 30, 1946, in a Hellenistic context east of the Great Drain in the Industrial District (B 19).

H. 0.29 m.; W. 0.24 m.; Th. 0.087 m.; L.H. 0.017–0.025 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 17, 1948, p. 35, no. 18, photograph pl. 9.

ca. a. 400 a.

[ἱε ρ ὀ ν]  
 Κ η φ ι σ ὀ  
 Γ λ ε ω ν -  
 τ ῖ δ ο ς  
 5 [φ] ρ α τ ρ ῖ α ς

Meritt interprets the inscription as the horos of an unlocated shrine at which the phratry Gleontis worshiped the river-god Kephissos.

**H10.** Stele of Pentelic marble (I 1454), chipped all around, with front, sides, and top preserved and bottom and part of the back broken away. The inscribed area has been dressed smooth with a toothed chisel. Found on

February 26, 1934, in the Hellenistic level of a well southwest of the Agora Square (E 15).

H. 0.265 m.; W. 0.15 m.; Th. 0.071 m.; L.H. 0.015–0.025 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 38, no. 4, photograph p. 38.

ca. a. 400 a.

hόρο-  
s ηιε-  
ρὸ Ἄπ-  
όλων-  
5 ος Ξαν-  
θῶ

**H11.** Stele of Pentelic marble (I 5569) with the top broken away and parts of all other surfaces preserved. The front face is dressed smooth in the area of the inscription and rough picked elsewhere. Found on September 24, 1938, in a modern house wall southwest of the Agora Square and west of the Post-Herulian Wall (Q 21).

H. 0.32 m.; W. 0.167 m.; Th. 0.095 m.; L.H. 0.018–0.024 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 26, 1957, p. 91, no. 38, photograph pl. 22; *Agora* III, p. 53; *Agora* XIV, p. 137; *SEG* XVI, 146.

init. saec. IV a.

[ὅρος]  
[Ἄπ]όλ-  
[λ]ωνο-  
s Πατρ-  
5 ῶιο

**H12.** Fragmentary poros stele (I 6381), broken at the top, bottom, and sides. The inscribed area is dressed with a toothed chisel, and a little of the rough-picked back remains. Found on May 29, 1951, in the wall of a Turkish bothros east of the East Stoa (P 14).

H. 0.37 m.; W. 0.195 m.; Th. 0.105 m.; L.H. 0.027–0.040 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 30, 1961, pp. 263–264, no. 79, photograph pl. 50; *SEG* XXI, 647.

init. saec. IV a.

ὅρος  
ἱερὸ

**H13.** Stele of Pentelic marble (I 6373), broken or cut away at both sides, with part of its rough-picked back and top preserved. The letters are cut into a smooth recessed band 0.155 m. in height, with rough-picked

surfaces above and below. Found on May 24, 1951, in a marble pile at the southwest corner of the Odeion of Agrippa (K 12).

H. 0.335 m.; W. 0.10 m.; Th. 0.17 m.; L.H. 0.020–0.028 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 26, 1957, p. 91, no. 39, photograph pl. 23; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 21, 1952, p. 113; *Agora* III, pp. 124–125; *SEG* XVI, 148.

ante med. saec. IV a.

[hό]ρο[s]  
[τε]μέν[ος]  
[Δι]ὸς [Ἵλ]-  
[υμ]πί[ο]

This horos may have strayed from the famous Olympieion southeast of the Akropolis, and, if so, it adds to the evidence of the continuity of that sanctuary between the periods of work on the Peisistratid and Hellenistic temples (Wycherley, *Agora* III, *loc. cit.* and *The Stones of Athens*, Princeton 1978, pp. 159–160); a somewhat tenuous case has been made for another Olympieion southeast of the Agora on the north slope of the Akropolis (A. D. Keramopoullos, *Δελτ* 12, 1929, pp. 86–92; cf. A. W. Parsons, *Hesperia* 12, 1943, p. 234 and O. Broneer in *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 54).

**H14.** Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble (I 2472), preserved in parts of the front face, sides, and possibly part of the top but broken off evenly at the bottom. Front dressed with a toothed chisel but badly chipped. Crude, uneven lettering. Found on February 21, 1935, in a modern context east of the southern part of the Odeion of Agrippa (N 11).

H. 0.18 m.; W. 0.17 m.; Th. 0.078 m.; L.H. 0.018 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 39, no. 6, photograph p. 39; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 6, 1937, p. 173, note 1.

ca. a. 400–350 a.

ὅ[ρο]ς  
[Μ]ητρώιο

**H15.** Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble (I 370), broken away at the left side and bottom but with parts of the front, top, right side, and back preserved. The inscribed face has been dressed with a toothed chisel. Found during the pre-excavation period of 1933 in a modern house wall over the area of the Late Roman (Central) Water Mill in the southeast corner of the Agora Square (Q 13).

H. 0.20 m.; W. 0.24 m.; Th. 0.13 m.; L.H. 0.012–0.040 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 15, 1946, p. 175, no. 22, photograph p. 175; *Agora* III, p. 28, no. 37.

saec. IV a.

[ὄρος]  
[τε]μένον[ς]  
[Διό]ς vacat

This restoration, which, with the exception of the final sigma of τεμένους is that of the *editio princeps*, is not definitive. The postulated left margin recommends it, but the partially preserved top edge would not seem to leave room for ὄρος above the preserved letters. This editor could not detect traces of a sigma after μένον. The poor shaping and inconsistent size of the letters are not entirely incompatible with the horos of a sacred precinct, but they resemble more the lettering of such private inscriptions as funerary or security horoi. Many tentative restorations are plausible; e.g., [ὄρος χωρίου πεπρα]μένον[ι] [ἐπὶ λύσει προικό]ς (cf. H104).

**H16.** Stele of Hymettian marble (I 513), broken off at the bottom and chipped at the top and sides. Found on March 4, 1933, in a modern house wall over the east side of the Temple of Ares (K 8).

H. 0.95 m.; W. 0.105 m.; Th. 0.065 m.; L.H. 0.012–0.027 m.

Ed. J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 4, 1935, p. 52, no. 14 (including discussion of the epithet Azesia), photograph p. 52; *Agora* III, p. 85.

post med. saec. IV a.

ὄρο[ς]  
ἱεροῦ  
Δημή-  
τρος  
5 Ἀζησία[ς]

**H17.** White marble stele (I 2800), broken off at the bottom and chipped away at the edges of the inscribed face. Found on April 16, 1935, in early Byzantine fill east of the East Building of the South Square (P 14).

H. 0.19 m.; W. 0.20 m.; Th. 0.065 m.; L.H. 0.020–0.030 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 39, no. 5, photograph p. 39; *SEG* X, 359.

init. saec. IV a.

ὁρό[ος]  
ἱερῶ

Meritt restored the first line as ὁρό[ος h], but the stele is not wide enough to have had a sixth letter there; the inconsistent use of eta for the aspirate within individual

horos inscriptions is common after 400 B.C. (e.g., *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2601, 2603, 2606, 2609, 2610).

**H18.** Fragment of a stele (I 4572) with inscribed face, right side, back (worn smooth in re-use), and perhaps part of the rough-cut top preserved. Found on March 3, 1937, in a modern context under Akropolis Street west of the Post-Herulian Wall (R 25).

H. 0.102 m.; W. 0.163 m.; Th. 0.069 m.; L.H. 0.018 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 91–92, no. 40, photograph pl. 23; *Agora* III, p. 225; *SEG* XVI, 187.

saec. II p.

[ἔ]σ[ος] οδὸς πρὸς  
[σηκ]ὸν Βλαύ[της]  
[καὶ Κουροτρόφου]  
[ἀνειμένη--]

5 [---]

As G. A. Stamires recognized (see Meritt), this inscription is a companion piece to *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 5183. The sanctuary of Ge Kouroutrophos, like that of Aphrodite Pandemos, was located near the west approach to the Akropolis, and the goddess Blaute, mentioned here, is perhaps to be identified with Aphrodite (*Agora* III).

**H19.** Gray poros stele (I 5983), dressed smooth in the area of the inscription, rough elsewhere, with a projecting stump at the bottom for setting in the ground. Found on May 27, 1947, in the Industrial District under the East Bath (C 19), serving as a cover slab of a Roman water channel.

H. 0.58 m.; W. 0.38 m.; Th. 0.185 m.; L.H. 0.030–0.040 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 26, 1957, p. 90, no. 37, photograph pl. 22; E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 35, 1966, p. 274; R. E. Wycherley, *Hesperia* 37, 1968, pp. 121–122; *Agora* III, p. 124; *SEG* XVI, 147.

saec. IV a.

ὄρος  
ἱεροῦ  
Διὸς  
ἔξου  
vacat

Since the entire inscription is preserved as carved, interpretation of the last line is difficult. Vanderpool correctly observed that the mark in the upper angle of the last letter of the fourth line is incidental damage or a pock mark rather than the upper vertical of the letter psi; unlike the other letter strokes, which are carefully made with a sharp pointed chisel, this is a wider, blunt mark: it

is not connected with the letter, it is not vertical but slopes upward to the left, and it does not cover a real letter stroke. Thus, the last letter, as we have it, is upsilon, and Meritt's interpretation of the line as the abbreviation of a *hapax legomenon*, *ἐξοψίου* (Zeus "who looks forth" from his precinct), would not be plausible, unless an intended psi was left incomplete as was the inscription itself (Wycherley). Vanderpool would complete the word as *ἐξου(σίον)*, an epithet, also heretofore unattested, referring to the power (*ἐξουσία*) of Zeus. Another possibility is that the last line was not an abbreviation but the beginning of an uncompleted relative clause (*ἐξ οὗ*): "Boundary of the sanctuary of Zeus from which . . ." (e.g.) a particular procession or embassy begins. Cf. **H34**: *ὅρος ἱερᾶς ὁδὸς δι' ἧς, κτλ.*; cf. Wycherley. Meritt suggests that the sanctuary referred to here may be that marked by a rock-cut horos on the east slope of the Hill of the Muses (*IG I<sup>2</sup>*, 863).

**H20.** Shaft of Pentelic marble (I 5890), of which the upper 0.33 m. is shaped as a stele and the lower portion is rough cut; the inscribed area, which was dressed smooth, is chipped away at the top. Found on May 15, 1940, built into the west wall of the garden court of a Late Roman building at the north foot of the Areopagus (L 21).

H. 0.81 m.; W. stele 0.19 m., stump 0.25 m.; Th. stele 0.105 m., stump 0.12 m.; L.H. 0.017–0.035 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 264, no. 80, photograph pl. 50; *SEG XXI*, 650.

*ca. init. saec. IV a.*

ὅρος ἱερῶ  
Τριτοπα-  
τρέων Ε-  
ὕεργιδῶν

This inscription adds the clan of the Euergidai to other Athenian *gene* or *phratriai* known to have had sanctuaries of the Tritopatris; see *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2615; F. Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos I*, i, Paris 1921, pp. 6–7, no. 7; cf. *IG I<sup>2</sup>*, 842, D, lines 7ff.; 870; *II<sup>2</sup>*, 1358, line 32.

**H21** (Pl. 1). Roughly dressed poros stele (I 2221), broken away at the top, upper left, bottom, and probably at the back. Found on December 4, 1934, in a modern house wall over the northeast corner of the Odeion of Agrippa (K–L 10).

H. 0.34 m.; W. 0.32 m.; Th. 0.16 m.; L.H. 0.020–0.030 m.

Ed. W. S. Ferguson, *Hesperia* 7, 1938, p. 74, no. 3; *SEG X*, 364.

*fin. saec. V vel init. saec. IV a.*

[hó]pos [oî]-  
[κ]ίας ηιερ-

ᾶς Ἀθηνᾶς  
Πολιάδος

Remains of the first omicron in line one are no longer visible at the time of this writing.

This horos may have marked only the temple or other sacred building (*οἶκία ἱερὰ*), or it may have stood at the edge of a surrounding precinct and by extension referred also to that; cf. Ferguson.

**H22** (Pl. 1). Fragmentary stele of Pentelic marble (I 3525) with rough-picked right side, back, and, possibly, the top preserved. Most of the left side and bottom is broken away, but part of the lower stump for setting in ground is preserved. The upper 0.20 m. of the front face was dressed with a toothed chisel. Found in February 1936 in the area of the Stoa of Attalos (P–S 7–12).

H. 0.296 m.; W. 0.197 m.; Th. 0.131 m.; L.H. 0.025 m.

Unpublished.

*prim. med. saec. IV a.*

ὅρος  
ἱερῶ

Enough of the left side of the inscribed face is preserved to indicate that neither word had an aspirate eta.

**H23** (Pl. 1). Slab of Pentelic marble (I 4090 a) with the original left side and parts of the front and back preserved, but broken off at the right, top, and bottom. Its back surface is in two planes, the lower rough picked and the upper projecting and polished, and there is a projecting band along the front edge of the left side; these cuttings resemble ancient workmanship and may have been made to fit the inscription to a wall or monument. Found on April 30, 1936, built into a wall of the Church of the Panagia Vlassarou, west of the Odeion of Agrippa (J 10–11).

H. 0.27 m.; W. 0.425 m.; Th. 0.067 m.; L.H. 0.020–0.025 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 37, 1968, pp. 292–293, no. 35, photograph pl. 84; *SEG XXV*, 200.

*saec. II p.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

ἡὸρος γύου Ἀθε[ναίας Πολιάδος]  
προσθέκον Ἐτεο[βουταδὸν γένει]  
πόδες Ἡ [rasura] ἐπὶ [----]  
lacuna ?

Despite the difference in the letter sizes of this inscription and that which follows (**H24**), the peculiar archaism and similarity of letter forms indicate that the two texts were parts of the same series of horoi, set up, probably in the religious revival of the 2nd century after Christ (for which see *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1035; W. S. Ferguson, *Hesperia* 7, 1938, p. 17, note 3), to mark measured tracts of land sacred to Athena Polias and belonging to her priestly clan,

the Eteoboutadai. Meritt speculated that the lands in question may have been the sacred olive groves near the Academy which produced oil for the Panathenaic prizes. It is evident from line 3 of this text that one of the dimensions of the γύης was 100 feet; Meritt noted in the *rasura* of the same line traces of the word *πεντήκοντα* and surmised that the letter cutter may have first incorrectly copied a dimension from another stone.

**H24.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 4090 b) with part of the inscribed face and smooth back surface preserved, but broken away at all other sides. Found on December

15, 1936, in a modern house wall at the north foot of the Areopagus (J-K 17).

H. 0.12 m.; W. 0.21 m.; Th. 0.07 m.; L.H. 0.015 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 37, 1968, pp. 293–294, no. 36, photograph pl. 84; *SEG* XXV, 201.

*saec.* II *p.*

[*hóros γύου Ἀθηναίας Πολιάδος*]  
 προσ[*hékou Ἐτεοβουταδῶν γένει*]  
 [πό]δες [H (?) ἐπὶ -----]  
*lacuna ?*

## 2. HOROI OF CIVIL ESTABLISHMENTS (H25–H31)

**H25** (Pl. 2). Stele of coarse-grained white marble streaked with blue (I 5510), completely preserved but somewhat worn at the upper corners. All surfaces are rough picked except for a smooth band, 0.07 m. wide, chiseled along the top and down the right side of the front face. The orthograde inscription, beginning in the upper left corner, follows this band. Found on February 28, 1938, *in situ*, facing east at the angle of two converging roads east of the Tholos (I 12).

H. 1.20 m.; W. 0.31 m.; Th. 0.19 m.; L.H. 0.025–0.043 m.

Ed. T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 8, 1939, p. 205, photograph p. 205; *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 107 and note 91; *Agora* III, p. 218, no. 713; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 37, 1968, p. 63, fig. 9; *Agora* XIV, p. 117, pl. 64:a; Travlos, *PDA*, pp. 3, 16, and fig. 21; *SEG* X, 368.

*ca. a.* 500 *a.*

*hóros εἰμὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς*

Although this horos of the Agora and the two which follow (**H26** and **H27**) show minor differences in the shape and spacing of their letters and in the dimensions of their stelai, the similar general style of the inscriptions, the dressing of the stones, and the similar chronological context and provenience of the two stelai found *in situ* leave little doubt that all three were part of the same project. An uninscribed fragment from the top of still another such stele was found in a disturbed context outside the southeast corner of the Agora (A 3534; *Agora* XIV, p. 117, note 3; see R. Ross Holloway, *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pp. 79–85 for the excavation of the area).

Pottery found in the gravel build-up around this stele indicates that it was completely covered by the end of the 5th century B.C.

**H26** (Pl. 2). Stele of fine-grained white marble (I 7039), worn smooth on the top, with slightly broken corners; rough picked all over except for a smooth-dressed band for the inscription across the top of the front face and

down the left side. The inscription is cut retrograde and begins in the upper right corner of the front face. Found on July 27, 1967, *in situ*, facing east on the west side of an ancient road, south of pier 1 beneath the west end of the Middle Stoa (H 13).

H. (exposed) 0.68 m.; W. 0.315 m.; Th. 0.145 m.; L.H. 0.025–0.039 m.

Ed. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 37, 1968, pp. 61–63, fig. 9, photograph pl. 10:b; *Agora* XIV, p. 117, pl. 64:b.

*ca. a.* 500 *a.*

*hóros εἰμὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς*  
 (retrograde)

Just below the chipped upper left corner a horizontal stroke may be a trace of the first iota of *εἰμὶ*. The last sigma of the inscription is carved orthograde; for this inconsistency of Archaic lettering, cf. *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 863, in which both sigmas face contrary to the retrograde text.

By the 3rd century B.C. this horos was buried by the rising level of the adjacent road.

**H27.** Stele of white marble (I 5675), rough picked all around except for a smooth-dressed band for the inscription along the top and right margins of the front face. The inscription is orthograde and began in the upper left corner, but because of wear and chipping of the upper face the horizontal part of the text is lost. The stele is broken off at the bottom. Found on February 22, 1939, in a Turkish tomb beneath the modern floor of the Hephaisteion (E 7).

H. 0.64 m.; W. 0.305 m.; Th. 0.18 m.; L.H. 0.032–0.045 m.

Ed. T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, p. 266, photograph p. 266; *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 107, note 91; *Agora* III, p. 218, *sub* no. 713; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 37, 1968, p. 63, fig. 9; *Agora* XIV, p. 117, note 3; *SEG* X, 368.

*ca. a.* 500 *a.*

[*hóros εἰμὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς*]

**H28** (Pl. 2). Fragment of a poros stele (I 3226), with parts of original inscribed face, top, and right side preserved. Found on January 4, 1936, in a modern house wall northeast of the Odeion of Agrippa (N 8).

H. 0.195 m.; W. 0.19 m.; Th. 0.225 m.; L.H. 0.070 m.

Ed. *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 107, note 91; *Agora* III, p. 218, sub no. 713; *SEG* X, 368; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 37, 1968, p. 63, note 28; *Agora* XIV, p. 117, note 3.

ca. med. saec. V a.

[ἄγ]ορᾶ[s]  
[hóρ]ος

Given the preserved right side, it is questionable whether the original area to the right of alpha was large enough to accommodate a sigma as restored. The restored text as a whole is likely but not certain.

**H29.** Fragment of a poros stele (I 3624) with parts of the inscribed face, bottom, and left side preserved. The upper front face was dressed smooth for the inscription. Found on February 29, 1936, built into a pier in the Church of the Panagia Vlassarou west of the Odeion of Agrippa (K 11).

H. 0.38 m.; W. 0.245 m.; Th. 0.20 m.; L.H. 0.050–0.070 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 23, 1954, p. 259, no. 47, photograph pl. 54; *SEG* XIV, 27.

ante med. saec. V a.

προπ[ύλο]  
δεμο[σίω]  
hóρ[ος]

This horos brings to five the number of extant examples of the text; cf. *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 891 and three pieces published by D. K. Hill (*AJA* 36, 1932, pp. 254–259), who explained that the markers belonged to the public propylon in the Peiraieus.

**H30** (Pl. 2). Stele of Hymettian marble (I 5770), completely preserved except for wear and chipping at the upper corner, dressed smooth with a toothed chisel in the area (0.26 m. high) of the inscription; otherwise rough picked. Found in March 1939, *in situ*, outside the northwest corner of the Agora (F 2), facing north onto the ancient street which led inward from the Dipylon. Reburied after excavation; plaster copy kept in the Stoa of Attalos.

H. 1.47 m.; W. 0.37 m.; Th. 0.16 m.; L.H. 0.030–0.035 m.

Ed. T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 267, 299, photograph p. 267; *Agora* III, p. 223.

init. saec. IV a.

h ó ρ ο ς  
Κεραμεικῷ

Other horoi of the Kerameikos, of a slightly later date, have been found beside the same road as it continued outside the Dipylon; see **H31**.

**H31** (Pl. 2). Fragment of an opisthographic stele of Hymettian marble (I 6835); on both faces the lettering was cut vertically from top to bottom on a smooth band, ca. 0.079 m. wide, along the central axis of the stone. This band was flanked by neatly stippled bands of about 0.075 m. in width, which were in turn flanked by smooth strips, ca. 0.003 m. wide, at the margins of the inscribed faces. The edges of the stele are neatly beveled, and its sides are also decorated with vertical stippled bands at the center flanked by smooth bands at the margins. Parts of both inscribed faces and part of one side are preserved. Found on February 10, 1959, among loose stones at the level of a modern street east of the Stoa of Attalos near its north end (R 7).

H. 0.28 m.; W. 0.235 m.; Th. 0.157 m.; L.H. 0.030 m.

Unpublished.

ca. med. saec. IV a.

Face A [ῥος K]ε[ραμεικοῦ]

Face B [ῥος] Κε[ραμεικοῦ]

Flanking the epsilon on Face B are traces of the lower oblique of kappa and the lower part of rho.

This fragment represents the fifth known example of a distinctive series of opisthographic horoi of the Kerameikos (see the photograph in Travlos, *PDA*, fig. 415), of which three were found *in situ*: flanking the Dipylon on its southwest side (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2617); in front of the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians about 78 meters northwest of the Dipylon on the southwest side of the road leading to the Academy (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2618); and about 48 meters farther out on the same side of the same road (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2619). (Another bedding with the stump of a stele of similar dimensions on the northeast side of the Dipylon may have held another such horos; for the location of this bedding and of the three horoi *in situ*, see W. Hoepfner, *The Pompeion*, Athens 1971, supplementary plan.) In 1955, a stele of the same series was found loose in a drain in modern Alexandria Street between Kolonos Hippios and the Academy (see E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 60, 1956, p. 267).



## 3. HOROI OF ROADS (H32–H35)

**H32** (Pl. 3). White marble stele (I 7505), complete except for the right side of the inscribed face which is chipped away. Rough picked on all surfaces except for the upper 0.18 m. of the front, which has been dressed smooth with a toothed chisel to receive the inscription. Found on July 1, 1977, in the wall of a Roman house southwest of the Agora (D–E 17).

H. 0.83 m.; W. 0.225 m.; Th. 0.097 m.; L.H. 0.019–0.024 m.

Unpublished.

*fin. saec. V vel init. saec. IV a.*

hόρο[s]  
hodō

**H33**. Stele of Pentelic marble (I 3361) with top, left, back, and part of the bottom sides preserved. The original surfaces are rough picked except for the upper 0.16 m. of the front, which is dressed smooth for the inscription. Found on February 8, 1936, in a Late Turkish wall west of the Stoa of Attalos (P 9).

H. 0.465 m.; W. 0.24 m.; Th. 0.17 m.; L.H. 0.020–0.023 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 40, no. 8, photograph p. 41.

*saec. IV a.*

ὅρος τ[ῆς]  
ὁδὸ : τῆς]  
πατρία[s]

**H34** (Pl. 3). Stele of Hymettian marble (I 5476), intact except for chipping and wear at the back. All original surfaces rough picked except for the upper third of the front face, which is dressed smooth as a background for the inscription. At the top of the back is a rectangular cutting probably dating from the late re-use of the block as a doorsill. Found on May 27, 1938, in Late Roman fill

under a wall in front of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (P 8).

H. 0.86 m.; W. 0.34 m.; Th. 0.17 m.; L.H. 0.020–0.030 m.

T. L. Shear, *Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 212–213; ed. A. W. Parsons, *Hesperia* 12, 1943, pp. 237–238, photograph p. 228; *Agora* III, p. 224, no. 730; *Agora* XIV, p. 118, note 5, pl. 64:d; *SEG* XXII, 147.

*saec. IV a.*

ὅρος ἱερᾶς  
ὁδὸ δι' ἧς πο-  
ρεύεται ἡ Π-  
υθαῖς ἐς Δε-  
5 λφός

Although not found *in situ*, this horos came to light near the Panathenaic Way and may have marked that passage through the Agora as part of the route of the theoria of the Pythais from the Pythion on the northwest slope of the Akropolis to the corresponding sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Parsons has suggested that, beyond the Agora, the mission would have left Athens by the Sacred Gate and progressed toward Delphi via the Pythion at Daphne and then followed its own Sacred Way through the Thriasian Plain and across Parnes by Phyle.

**H35** (Pl. 3). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble (I 7166), broken at all edges, but part of the inscribed face and perhaps part of the original back is preserved. Found on July 23, 1970, in the remains of a Roman house on the northeast slope of the Areopagus (Q 21).

H. 0.20 m.; W. 0.21 m.; Th. 0.057 m.; L.H. 0.020–0.037 m.

Unpublished.

*saec. III/II a.*

[ὅρο]ς ὁδοῦ

## 4. TRITTYS MARKERS (H36–H42)

**H36**. Limestone stele (I 6078), tapering outward toward the top, broken off at the top and at the bottom corner, roughly finished all over. Found on October 13, 1947, in a water channel under the Southwest Bath (C 18).

H. 0.935 m.; W. 0.37 m.; Th. 0.21 m.; L.H. *ca.* 0.037 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 264, no. 81, photograph pl. 49; *SEG* XXI, 111; Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, p. 102, no. 11.

*ca. a. 450 a.*

*lacuna*  
[-----'A]-  
ντιο[χίς δὲ]  
φυλὲ ἀρχε-  
αι, Ἴλοπεκέ-  
5 ον δὲ τριτύς  
*vacat*

**H37.** Stele of Hymettian marble (I 6699), intact except for chipping of the upper front edge, which has removed most of the first line of the inscription. Rough picked on all surfaces except the inscribed area, which is somewhat smoother. Found in the summer of 1954 among marbles from demolition of walls of the 19th-century addition to the Church of the Holy Apostles (O 15–16).

H. 0.68 m.; W. 0.24 m.; Th. 0.13 m.; L.H. 0.015–0.020 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 265, no. 82, photograph pl. 49; *SEG* XXI, 109; Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, pp. 96–97, no. 2.

ca. a. 450 a.

[Σκ]α[μ]βο[νιδ]-  
[δ]ν τριττύς

Line 1: I see no trace of the nu dotted by Traill.

**H38.** Poros stele (I 2197) with original front, back, bottom, right, and lower left surfaces preserved; upper left part of the stone broken away, and part of the right side of the inscribed face chipped away. Found on November 6, 1934, in a modern house wall west of the central part of the Stoa of Attalos (O 9).

H. 0.53 m.; W. 0.38 m.; Th. 0.023 m.; L.H. 0.025–0.035 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 55–56, no. 4, photograph p. 55; *Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 264; *SEG* X, 374; XXI, 112; Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, pp. 101–102, no. 10.

med. saec. V a.

[Δεῦρε. . . .]  
[. . . .] τ[ρι]-  
[ττὺς] ε[λ]ε[ν]τ[ε]-  
[αἰ Παλ]λεν[έο]-  
5 [ν δ]ε ἄρχετ[αι]  
[τ]ριττύς<sup>ν</sup> [ν]  
vacat

Lines 1–2: On the basis of spacing and the usual order of the trittyes Traill tentatively restores [δεῦρε Ἀλο][[πεκέον] τ[ρι]]; less likely is Meritt's [Δεῦρε Ἀναφ][[λυστίον] τ[ρι]] (*Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 264).

**H39** (Pl. 4). Poros stele (I 1191) with the upper left of the inscribed face and parts of the left side and top at the left corner preserved. Found on November 18, 1933, in a modern house wall over the south part of the Odeion of Agrippa (M 12).

H. 0.255 m.; W. 0.165 m.; Th. 0.13 m.; L.H. 0.041 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, p. 55, no. 3,

photograph p. 55; *SEG* X, 373; Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, p. 100, no. 8.

med. saec. V a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Δε[ῦρε Πε]-  
δι[έον τρ]-  
ιττ[ὺς τε]-  
λεν[τᾶι .]  
lacuna

Line 2: Where Traill gives dotted epsilon I see only the broken right edge of the inscribed face.

**H40** (Pl. 4). Stele of Pentelic marble (I 5053) with parts of the front, back, top, and left sides preserved; otherwise broken away. Upper front face dressed smooth for the inscription; rough picked below. Found on October 15, 1937, in a modern house wall south of the Agora Square (P 21).

H. 0.222 m.; W. 0.105 m.; Th. 0.105 m.; L.H. 0.018 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 53–54, no. 1, photograph p. 53; *SEG* X, 370; Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, p. 98, no. 4.

fin. saec. V a.

τριττ[ὺς]  
Σφετ[ρίον]

**H41.** Fragment of a poros stele (I 5564); part of upper right corner preserved. Found on September 17, 1938, in a modern house wall southeast of the Agora, west of the Panathenaic Way (Q 22).

H. 0.29 m.; W. 0.19 m.; Th. 0.18 m.; L.H. 0.040–0.050 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, p. 54, no. 2, photograph p. 54; J. S. Traill, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 94–95 and fig. 1; *SEG* XXVIII, 27; Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, pp. 99–100, no. 7.

med. saec. V a.

[Δεῦρε] Δ[ιακ]-  
ρίον τ[ριττ]-  
[ὺς τε]λεντ-  
[αἰ, Φρ]εαρρ-  
5 [ίον δὲ τρι]-  
[ττὺς ἄρχε]-  
[ται]

Line 3: The lambda detected by Meritt is no longer visible.

Line 4: Traces of the vertical stroke and upper and lower horizontal strokes of epsilon are visible.

This text incorporates the restoration by Traill (*Hesperia*, loc. cit.) of Διακρίον based on the discovery of a new prytany list which shows Diakris to have been the inland trittys of Leontis.

**H42.** Poros stele (I 2045), broken at the left, below, and at the back; inscribed surface rough picked and badly chipped and weathered in places. Found on October 13, 1934, in a modern house wall over the south part of the Odeion of Agrippa (M 11).

H. 0.285 m.; W. 0.20 m.; Th. 0.25 m.; L.H. 0.028–0.038 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 50–51, no. 16, photograph p. 50; *SEG* X, 371; Traill, *Demos and Trittys*, p. 99, no. 6.

*med. saec. V a.*

Δεῦρε Ἄκαμ[α]-  
[ντῖς φ]υλὲ τ-  
[ελευτᾶι] Θορικ-  
[ῖον δὲ τ]ριττύ-  
5 [s. *ἡππο*]θοντῖ-  
[s δὲ φυ]λὲ ἄρχ-  
[εται -----]  
[-----]  
[-----]

Lines 7–9: Traill gives the probable restoration [εται Ἐλευ-  
σιν][ῖον δὲ τριττύ][s-----].

## 5. HOROI OF UNCERTAIN TYPE (H43–H52)

The inscriptions in this section of the catalogue are identifiable as horoi, either by their texts or by the dimensions of the lettering and treatment of the stones. None of them, however, was found *in situ*, and neither their provenience nor their texts informs us of the kinds of property they marked. One cannot say with certainty about any one of these stones that it was a public or a private horos, but the high quality of lettering and masonry of most of them is like that of identified public markers.

**H43.** Stele of Pentelic marble (I 2618), intact except for chipping at the upper left corner of the inscribed face. Rough picked all over except the upper 0.105 m. of the front face, which is dressed smooth as a background for the inscription. Found on March 15, 1935, built into a modern wall east of the East Building of the South Square (P 14).

H. 0.68 m.; W. 0.26 m.; Th. 0.16 m.; L.H. 0.025 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 21, 1952, p. 359, no. 6, photograph pl. 90; *SEG* XII, 65.

*ca. a. 450 a.*

[h]ópos

**H44.** Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble (I 4309), broken away at the left and bottom; inscribed face and right side smooth dressed; probably original rough-quarried back preserved; an original molding around the upper 0.11 m. of the stone has been chiseled away. Found on December 2, 1936, built into the wall of a modern house at the north foot of the Areopagus (M 16–17).

H. 0.46 m.; W. 0.19 m.; Th. 0.17 m.; L.H. 0.053 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, p. 64, no. 112, photograph pl. 20; *SEG* XIX, 31.

*saec. V a.*

[hóρ]os

**H45.** Stele of Pentelic marble (I 5608) with much of original front face and top edge preserved; the stone is

broken off at the bottom, and the back has been cut away and sides have been leveled so that it might be re-used as a roof tile. The upper part of the front face is dressed smooth as a background for the inscription; the original surfaces are elsewhere rough picked. Found on October 20, 1938, built into the wall of a modern house at the north foot of the Areopagus (E 17).

H. 0.195 m.; W. 0.187 m.; Th. 0.082 m.; L.H. 0.020–0.037 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 263, no. 77, photograph pl. 50; *SEG* XXI, 104.

*saec. IV a.*

ὄρος

**H46.** Stele of Pentelic marble (I 6079), cut in an angle in back so as to be triangular in horizontal section; the rough, angular break at the bottom is possibly original. The inscribed area, about 0.14 m. of the front face, is dressed smooth as a background for the inscription. Found on October 13, 1947, in a marble pile southeast of the Agora Square (T–U 21–22).

H. 0.36 m.; W. 0.22 m.; Th. 0.13 m.; L.H. 0.350–0.550 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 263, no. 78, photograph pl. 50; *SEG* XXI, 105.

*saec. V/IV a.*

hóρ-  
os

**H47.** Stele of Pentelic marble (I 4614) with most of the front face, top, and back preserved; it is difficult to determine whether the rough-cut sides and bottom are damaged or original to the stele. The front face is rough picked except for the inscribed area, which is somewhat smoother. Found on March 9, 1937, in a Turkish wall west of the south end of the Stoa of Attalos (P 11).

H. 0.47 m.; W. 0.245 m.; Th. 0.134 m.; L.H. 0.030 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 23, 1954, p. 260, no. 53, photograph pl. 54; *SEG* XIV, 105.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[h]ópos

**H48** (Pl. 4). Stele of Pentelic marble (I 2429), intact except for the loss of a small part of the right side. Rough picked except for the upper 0.07 m. of the front face, which was dressed smooth as a background for the inscription. Found on February 11, 1935, in a modern context at the surface of the ground east of the southern part of the Odeion of Agrippa (O 12).

H. 0.25 m.; W. 0.17 m.; Th. 0.067 m.; L.H. 0.025–0.032 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 21, 1952, p. 379, no. 37, photograph pl. 98; *SEG* XII, 142.

*saec.* V/IV *a.*

hópos

**H49** (Pl. 4). Stele of Pentelic marble (I 7265), broken off at the bottom; otherwise intact but badly worn. Originally a funerary monument, the stone was converted to a horos, and later, to judge from the circular cutting in the upper left of the inscribed face and great surface wear, it was used as a threshold block. Evidence of the original funerary purpose is a badly worn, rectangular (H. 0.37 m.; W. 0.23 m.) relief sculpture at the bottom of the front face, depicting two female figures on the right standing in front of a third figure, apparently a man, seated on a stool. The seated figure seems to be shaking hands with the closer standing figure, who extends her other hand toward his head. (For similar scenes on other grave stelai, see A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin 1893, I, p. 20, no. 60, pl. XXVII; p. 59, no. 270, pl. LXII.) The funerary inscription would have been located beneath the sculpture on the part of the stele now missing. The upper right side of the stele preserves part of a molding, which indicates that the original monument had a crowning ornament, probably a palmette or pediment. As a horos, the stele is inscribed in large letters at the top of the front face (Text A) and small letters at the top of the right side (Text B). Found on April 2, 1971, southeast of the Agora, built into a Turkish wall west of the Post-Herulian Wall (Q 21).

H. 0.82 m.; W. 0.43 m.; Th. 0.16 m.; L.H. Text A 0.080–0.100 m., Text B 0.037–0.065 m.

Unpublished.

*saec.* IV/III *a.*

Text A ὄπος

Text B ὄπος

**H50** (Pl. 4). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble (I 5784), its left side broken away from top to bottom; elsewhere preserved, although the upper right corner of the inscribed face is chipped and worn. The front face is rough picked except for the upper 0.15 m., which is dressed smooth for the inscription. Found on April 17, 1939, built into a wall of the Church of St. Spyridon over the Library of Pantainos (R 14).

H. 0.39 m.; W. 0.17 m.; Th. 0.17 m.; L.H. 0.020–0.025 m.

Unpublished.

*saec.* IV/III *a.*

[---]ΔΗ/[<sup>1-2</sup>]  
[---]ΟΣ *vacat*  
*vacat*

The size of the letters and the form of the stele and its inscription are certainly indicative of a horos, but the original text can only be a matter of conjecture. Since the fragment was found not far from the Eleusinion, one might restore, *exempli gratia*, [ὄπος] Δημή[τῆ]ρ[ος]; cf. **H4**.

**H51** (Pl. 4). Fragment of a small, roughly octagonal pillar of Pentelic marble (I 3131), broken at both ends. Inscribed in two lines along the linear axis of one facet of the stone, but the surface is badly chipped and worn on both sides of the preserved letters. Found on December 5, 1935, built into a modern house wall over the central part of South Stoa II (M 15).

H. 0.142 m.; W. 0.098 m.; Th. 0.098 m.; L.H. 0.007 m.

Unpublished.

*saec.* IV/III *a.*

*vacat*  
[---]ΟΡΟ[---]  
[---]ΡΑ[---]  
*vacat*

This fragment is classified as a horos largely on the basis of the letters in the first line. By themselves they invite a restoration of ὄρος[ς]||[ἀγο]ρᾶ[ς], but the smallness, poor quality, and arrangement of the letters seem unworthy of a public marker of any significance. The lettering is redolent of private security horoi, but the inscribed area seems too small for an inscription of that length.

**H52** (Pl. 4). Poros fragment (I 5420); part of the inscribed face is the only original surface preserved. Found on May 5, 1938, built into a bench in a Byzantine building east of the south part of the Stoa of Zeus (J 17).

H. 0.145 m.; W. 0.115 m.; Th. 0.11 m.; L.H. 0.020–0.030 m.

Unpublished.

*saec.* V/IV *a.*

*lacuca*  
[----]ο[----]  
[----]ε[----]  
[---]τρ[----]  
[----]ε[----]  
*lacuna*

Line 1: The lower third of a circular letter survives below the upper broken edge.

Line 2: At the left edge are two small oblique cuts, one

slanted upward and inward, the other downward and inward; one or both may be letter traces or incidental scarring.

Line 3: To the left of rho is the upper part of a vertical stroke intersected near the top by a complete horizontal stroke. The irregularity of the broken right edge of the stone is interrupted to the right of rho by a clear vertical fracture along a letter stroke, either iota or the left vertical of another letter.

Line 4: The vertical, the upper horizontal, and part of the middle horizontal of epsilon are extant. To the right of this, at the lower broken edge, are two small cuttings which may be the upper traces of a letter.

The genre of this inscription is by no means certain, but the size and collocation of extant letters and traces of letters suggest a tritrys marker, e.g.,

[Δεῦρε---]ο[----]  
[---φνλὲ τελ]ε[υτᾶι---]  
[----δὲ] τρ[ιτρὺς.---]  
[-----]ε[-----]

## 6. HOROI OF GRAVE SITES (H53–H72)

**H53.** Poros stele (I 5084), broken off at bottom and chipped at the left and upper right part of the inscribed face; otherwise intact. The inscribed area has been dressed smooth with a toothed chisel; the rest of the stele is rough picked except for the lower back which has been left in a rough-quarried state. Found on November 6, 1937, built into a modern house wall south of the Agora Square (P 21).

H. 0.27 m.; W. 0.20 m.; Th. 0.15 m.; L.H. 0.020–0.027 m.

Ed. A. G. Woodhead, *Hesperia* 26, 1957, p. 233, no. 88, photograph pl. 59; *SEG* XVII, 58.

*saec.* V/IV *a.*

hόρο[s]  
μνήμ-  
ατος

**H54** (Pl. 5). Rough slab of gray schist (I 7461), probably complete. The inscribed area at the top of the front face has been worked with a toothed chisel. Found on June 14, 1973, in the upper fill of a well in Room 6 of the stoa on the Broad Street, east of the Library of Pantainos (U 13).

H. 0.67 m.; W. 0.27 m.; Th. 0.04 m.; L.H. 0.017–0.030 m.

Unpublished.

*saec.* V/IV *a.*

hόρος  
μνήματος

This horos and the two following (**H55** and **H56**) are so similar in their lettering and in the shape and material of the stelai that there is little doubt that they were fashioned as a series. The lineation of the three inscriptions has been varied because of slight differences in the letter spacing and the width of the stones in the inscribed area. The fact that they were found together, although not *in situ*, suggests that they once marked the same grave plot.

**H55** (Pl. 5). Rough slab of gray schist (I 7462); a small part of the original slab may be missing from the bottom. The inscribed area at the top of the front face has been worked with a toothed chisel. Found on June 14, 1973, in the upper fill of a well in Room 6 of the stoa on the Broad Street, east of the Library of Pantainos (U 13).

H. 0.59 m.; W. 0.28 m.; Th. 0.05 m.; L.H. 0.015–0.025 m.

Unpublished.

*saec.* V/IV *a.*

hόρος  
μνήματ-  
ος

**H56** (Pl. 5). Slab of gray schist (I 7463), mended from two pieces. The inscribed area at the top of the front face has been worked with a toothed chisel. Found on June 14, 1973, in the upper fill of a well in Room 6 of the stoa on the Broad Street, east of the Library of Pantainos (U 13).

H. 0.61 m.; W. 0.25 m.; Th. 0.04 m.; L.H. 0.017–0.030 m.

Unpublished.

*saec.* V/IV *a.*

hópos  
μνήματο-  
s

**H57.** Fragment of a rough-hewn stele of Hymettian marble (I 2121), broken off at the left side and bottom. Found on November 9, 1934, built into a modern house wall northeast of the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes (J 9–10).

H. 0.45 m.; W. 0.21 m.; Th. 0.11 m.; L.H. 0.015–0.020 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 17, 1948, p. 37, no. 21, photograph pl. 11.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[ὄρ]ος  
[μνήμ]ατος

The less frequent formula, ὄρος σήματος, is also a possible restoration.

**H58.** Fragment of a stele of gray marble (I 2067), broken on all sides. Rough-picked front face except for the inscribed area at the top which has been dressed with a toothed chisel. Found on November 9, 1934, built into a modern house wall east of the south part of the Odeion of Agrippa (O 11–12).

H. 0.25 m.; W. 0.24 m.; Th. 0.05 m.; L.H. 0.020–0.025 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 17, 1948, p. 36, no. 20, photograph pl. 11.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[ὄρο]ς  
[μ]νήμα-  
τος

Line 1: The lowest stroke of sigma and part of the stroke above it are visible below the broken edge of the stone above mu.

**H59.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 3079), broken all around except for part of the inscribed face and a small part of the lightly picked top edge. Found on November 17, 1935, built into the wall of a modern house northeast of the Odeion of Agrippa (N 7).

H. 0.175 m.; W. 0.115 m.; Th. 0.07 m.; L.H. 0.018 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 23, 1954, p. 259, no. 49, photograph pl. 54; *SEG* XIV, 106.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[ὄρ]ος  
[μν]ήμ[α]-  
[τ]ος

**H60.** Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble (I 2712) preserving parts of the inscribed face and back. The front surface is smooth dressed in the area of the inscription and rough picked below. Found on April 5, 1935, in a marble pile; probably from a modern cellar wall north-east of the Odeion of Agrippa (N–O 8–9).

H. 0.28 m.; W. 0.19 m.; Th. 0.065 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.020 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 23, 1954, p. 259, no. 50, photograph pl. 54; *SEG* XIV, 107.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[ὄρ]ος μν[ή]-  
ματος

**H61.** Shaft of dark gray marble with white veins (I 3990); roughly broken sides may be original. Found on April 8, 1936, in the late fill of a well between the Odeion of Agrippa and the Tholos (I 11).

H. 0.23 m.; W. 0.27 m.; Th. 0.045 m.; L.H. *ca.* 0.040 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 23, 1954, p. 259, no. 51, photograph pl. 55; *SEG* XIV, 108.

*saec.* IV *a.*

ὄρος μν-  
ήματος

**H62.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 4449), broken all around except for parts of the inscribed face and smooth-chiseled right side; inscribed surface very rough. The horos may have been a re-used architectural or inscribed stone. Found in January 1937, built into the wall of a modern house west of the Stoa of Attalos (O–P 9–11).

H. 0.23 m.; W. 0.12 m.; Th. 0.047 m.; L.H. 0.014–0.025 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 23, 1954, p. 260, no. 52, photograph pl. 54; *SEG* XIV, 109.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[ὄρος]  
[μν]ήμ[α]-  
[τ]ος

**H63** (Pl. 5). Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 2813), broken on all sides except part of the inscribed face and a small part of the rough-trimmed left side. Found on May 3, 1935, at a Turkish level west of the Great Drain between the Middle Stoa and the Heliaia (J 13–14).

H. 0.12 m.; W. 0.16 m.; Th. 0.05 m.; L.H. 0.023 m.

Unpublished.

saec. IV/III a.

[ὄρος]  
μ[νήμ]-  
ατο[s]

**H64.** Fragment of a stele of blue micaceous stone flecked with white (I 6462), broken off below at an angle from the lower left to the upper right of the inscribed face. Found on March 8, 1952, in a 4th-century B.C. context west of the southern part of the Odeion of Agrippa (J-K 11).

H. 0.12 m.; W. 0.18 m.; Th. 0.043 m.; L.H. 0.013–0.015 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, p. 43, no. 51, photograph pl. 2; *SEG* XXI, 646.

ca. a. 400 a.

ὄρος μνη-  
μάτων Π'  
[rasura ?]

The letter pi at the end of line 2 probably began the proper name of persons or family whose graves were marked. Most of the area of a third line is chipped away, but deliberate cutting of the original surface at the left suggests that the line may have been erased.

**H65** (Pl. 5). Stele of Hymettian marble (I 3637), intact except for small parts of right side and bottom. The complete inscription survives on the upper front face, which has been dressed with a toothed chisel. The remaining surfaces are rough picked except for a lower stump, which has been left in a rough-quarried state for setting in the ground. Found on February 25, 1936, in a modern context over the north end of the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos (Q 8).

H. 0.25 m.; W. 0.23 m.; Th. 0.058 m.; L.H. 0.013–0.019 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 23, 1954, p. 259, no. 48, photograph pl. 54; *SEG* XIV, 110.

ante med. saec. IV a.

ὄρος  
μνήματος  
Ἐπιγόνου

**H66** (Pl. 5). Stele of Hymettian marble (I 5478) with the original top edge curved in the form of an arch; the bottom and part of the right side are broken off. At the back is a large curved cutting neatly worked with a chisel and containing some mortar; the purpose of this work may have been to attach the stele to a monument or building, but whether this function was contemporary with

the use as a horos is uncertain. Found on May 30, 1938, built into a Byzantine building east of the central part of the Stoa of Zeus (J 6).

H. 0.295 m.; W. 0.39 m.; Th. 0.125 m.; L.H. 0.015–0.030 m.

Ed. W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 11, 1942, p. 240, no. 44, photograph p. 240.

saec. IV/III a.

ὄρος μνήμα-  
τος παροδίου π[ό]-  
δες : ΔΙΙ, τοῦ δ' ἐντ[ό]-  
π[ό]δες : ΔΠΙ

**H67.** Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble (I 2372), broken off at the right side and bottom; the rough-picked back surface is probably original. Found on February 7, 1935, built into a modern house wall west of the Odeion of Agrippa (K 10).

H. 0.21 m.; W. 0.28 m.; Th. 0.07 m.; L.H. 0.015–0.025 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 53, no. 15, photograph p. 53.

saec. IV/III a.

ὄρος μνήμα[τος]  
οὐ ἀπέδοτο Δ[ιότι (?)]-  
μος· εἰς μέτω[πον]  
ἐννέα πόδες, [εἰς τὸ]  
5 εἴσω δέκα

This example is unique in its inclusion of the statement, probably as a testimony of the right of current ownership, that Diotimos(?) sold or gave the gravesite.

**H68.** Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble (I 2170). Parts of the front face, top, and possibly the back are preserved, but the rest of the original surfaces are lost. The upper front face is dressed smooth for the inscription, and the lower part is left rough. Traces of red paint remain in the letters. Found on January 19, 1935, built into a modern house wall east of the south part of the Odeion of Agrippa (N–O 11).

H. 0.245 m.; W. 0.155 m.; Th. 0.055 m.; L.H. 0.025–0.030 m.

Ed. A. Boeckh, *CIG*, 535; U. Koehler, *IG* II, 1071 a; J. Kirchner, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2581 a; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pp. 35–36, no. 19, photograph pl. 9.

fin. saec. V vel init. saec. IV a.

ὄρος <σ>ή-  
ματος Ὁ-  
νησίμο

This inscribed fragment and its companion piece I 2528 (**H69**) should probably be identified with the two funerary horoi of Onesimos discovered by Fauvel, the French Consul in Athens during the early 19th century, in the course of his excavation of a cemetery outside the Hippades Gate on the road to Acharnai. (For the long misunderstood location of this excavation, see B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 77–79 and *Hesperia* 17, 1948, p. 36 and note 60; E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pp. 276–277.) On April 4, 1811, Fauvel included in a letter to M. Barbié du Bocage in Paris transcriptions and drawings of these and other inscriptions (see Meritt, *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pl. 10), and in the following year the substance of this communication was published in *Magasin encyclopédique ou Journal des Sciences* (Millin, ed.) 17, 1812, II, pp. 91–97. Although Fauvel's collection of inscriptions was abandoned and scattered during the Greek War of Independence, his correspondence became the basis for publication of these two texts in *CIG* and subsequent editions of the *Corpus*. I 2170 and I 2528, in addition to other inscriptions identifiable as Fauvel's, were rediscovered by American excavators in the Agora in late contexts close to the area where the Consul's house once stood. For the restoration of the present fragment (I 2170), I follow Meritt in tentatively identifying it as part of the complete inscription which Fauvel reported as omitting one sigma in the first line (= *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2581 a). Boeckh expressed uncertainty whether the letter had been dropped by the stonemason or subsequent transcribers, but it is unlikely that the haplography was Fauvel's since he shows it in both his transcription and his drawing. Identification of the two Agora finds with Fauvel's exemplars is made less than certain by the existence in the Berlin Museum of a third inscription with the same text; see **H69**.

**H69** (Pl. 6). Stele of Pentelic marble (I 2528), roughly triangular in horizontal section. The slightly convex front face is dressed smooth in the inscribed area at the top, but the stone is elsewhere rough cut. There are traces of red paint in all letters. Found on February 27, 1935, in a modern context at the surface of the ground east of the Odeion of Agrippa (N 11).

H. 0.30 m.; W. 0.19 m.; Th. 0.10 m.; L.H. 0.012–0.025 m.

Ed. A. Boeckh, *CIG*, 535; U. Koehler, *IG* II, 1071 b; J. Kirchner, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2581 b; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 8, 1939, p. 79, no. 25, photograph p. 79.

*fin. saec. V vel init. saec. IV a.*

ὄρος σή-  
ματος Ὀ-  
νησίμο

In an addendum to his edition of the two funerary horoi of Onesimos recorded by Fauvel (see above, **H68** and commentary), Koehler (p. 540) wrote that Fraenkel had recorded an inscription in the Berlin Museum with the following text:

ΟΡΟΣΣ///  
ΜΑΤΟΣΟ  
ΝΗΣΙΜΟ

In the *Editio Minor*, Kirchner went on to identify this Berlin inscription by its museum catalogue number, 1165, and to equate it with the second of Fauvel's horoi (i.e. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2581 b). Meritt accepted Kirchner's identification, and thus, when he published this recently found horos in 1939 (pp. 77–79), he voiced the suspicion that it was the same as *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2581 a, even though it did not show the omitted sigma of the first line as in Fauvel's transcription and drawing. But, as we have seen above (**H68** and commentary), the subsequent discovery in the Agora of the fragment of another copy of the inscription (I 2170) led Meritt to change his mind and to propose I 2170 instead as probably the same stone as *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2581 a. Although this identification is tentative, Meritt is certainly correct that the Berlin inscription represents a third example of the same text.

Professor J. Herrmann, Director of the Central Institute for Ancient History and Archaeology of the Berlin Academy, DDR, in consultation with Dr. E. Erxleben, has given me (*per ep.*, 27 October 1983) the following information about the Berlin copy: it is still in the antiquities collection of the Berlin Museum; it was acquired by the Museum in 1844, but nothing of its earlier history is known; the dimensions of the stone are H. 0.19 m., W. 0.18 m., and Th. 0.07 m.; between the two sigmas in line 1 is a punctuation mark (:) which is correctly noted in *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der antiken Skulpturen*, A. Conze, ed., Berlin 1891, no. 1165 (includes illustration) but is omitted in *IG* II, p. 540.

While one cannot rule out altogether the possibility that the Berlin horos, rather than one of the Agora finds, is one of Fauvel's two inscriptions, there is strong circumstantial evidence against it. Koehler's text of the Berlin inscription shows loss of the last letter of the first line, which is not evident in the drawing and transcription of either of Fauvel's stones, although this damage could have occurred subsequent to the Consul's letter to Barbié. One of Fauvel's texts (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2581 a) shows that the second sigma of line 1 was omitted by the letter cutter, but this is not the case with the Berlin horos. The Berlin horos has a punctuation mark between the sigmas of line 1, but neither Fauvel's drawings nor transcriptions show this feature. Finally, the two Agora stones were found



near the location of Fauvel's house. It is therefore reasonable, if not necessary, to conclude that the present inscription is to be identified with *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2581 b, that the two Agora stones are Fauvel's exemplars rediscovered, and that the copy in Berlin has a separate but little-known history after leaving the grave site of Onesimos. The similarity of texts, letter forms, and original dimensions of all three horoi leaves little doubt that they once marked the same burial place.

**H70.** Stele of Pentelic marble (I 4938), preserved in parts of the rough face and back, but broken on all edges. Crude lettering. Found on June 3, 1937, in a Late Roman context west of the central part of the Stoa of Attalos (O 9).

H. 0.14 m.; W. 0.176 m.; Th. 0.05 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.030 m.

Ed. W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 11, 1942, pp. 240–242, no. 45, photograph p. 241.

*saec.* IV *a.*

ὄρος σήμ[ατος]  
Οἰνέως

As Pritchett asserted, this stone may have marked the supposed grave of Oineus, the Eponymous Hero, or simply that of a citizen of the same name.

**H71** (Pl. 6). Stele of Hymettian marble (I 2563), broken away at the bottom and chipped in the upper right corner but otherwise intact. Crude, uneven lettering. Found on March 4, 1935, in modern surface fill east of the Odeion of Agrippa (N 11).

H. 0.24 m.; W. 0.178 m.; Th. 0.05 m.; L.H. 0.020–0.035 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 21, 1952, p. 372, no. 18, photograph pl. 94; *SEG* XII, 144.

*saec.* IV/III *a.*

ὄρο[ς]  
θήκη-  
ς Οἰνά<ν>θ-  
ης

**H72** (Pl. 6). A stele of Pentelic marble (I 2408), mended from five fragments but still missing the bottom edge. The neatly lettered inscription is preserved in its entirety, but the cartoon face crudely scratched in profile below the inscribed letters is not part of the original work. Rediscovered on February 5, 1935 in a modern context over the east end of the Middle Stoa (O 13).

H. 0.417 m.; W. 0.283 m.; Th. 0.061 m.; L.H. 0.030 m.

Ed. A. Boeckh, *CIG*, 529; U. Koehler, *IG* I, 523; J. Kirchner, *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 864; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 77–79, no. 24, photograph p. 77; E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pp. 276–277; *SEG* X, 360.

*ca. a.* 400 *a.*

ὄρος  
ηελίκης

Fauvel found this inscription, along with the two horoi of Onesimos (see **H68** and **H69**), in his excavation on the road that leads from the Hippades Gate to Acharnai. As he did the other two horoi, Fauvel transcribed and drew this document in a letter of April 4, 1811, which was summarized in the *Magasin encyclopédique* in 1812. The stone was rediscovered in the Agora excavations just below the modern surface in the area where the Consul's house is known to have been. By a close reading of Fauvel's account of his excavation, Vanderpool was able to identify the site as an area of ancient cemeteries and the word *ηελίκη* as the proper name of a woman whose grave was guarded by this stone; see also Vanderpool's parallels for the name Helike and for the omission in funerary horoi of the usual *σήματος* *vel sim.*

## 7. SECURITY HOROI (H73–H130)

The general use of crude lettering and diverse letter forms on security horoi makes even the approximate dating of these inscriptions very difficult unless they contain other clues such as informative proper names. In this catalogue I follow the conservative policy of most earlier editors and only assign dates which are clearly established by the naming of an archon in the text. For cases in which there is less certain or ambiguous evidence for dating, the reader will find note of this in the following commentaries or in those of previous editors.

Here I have classified the horoi by traditional nomenclature and specific type when the extant text, or the text in combination with convincing restoration, so dictates. If there is any ambiguity about the exact type of transaction involved in the text, the inscription has been relegated to the category "uncertain type".

The lettering, the material, and the dressed surfaces of these horoi are often of such poor quality, and their texts are often so damaged by erasures and ill use, that there are many disagreements among editors about particular letter traces and the restorations they suggest. The present editor, after autopsy of the inscribed stones and study of squeezes and photographs, sometimes finds himself at odds with the previous editors over epigraphical details, and when the result is a published text which differs from its predecessors, the differences are explained in the commentary following the text.

# ΜΙΣΘΩΣΙΣ ΟΙΚΟΥ

**H73.** Stele of Pentelic marble (I 4759), broken off at bottom and top, but parts of the original rough-picked sides and back are preserved. The front face was dressed smooth to receive the inscription, which has in places suffered from chipping. Found on April 21, 1937, built into a modern house wall over the south part of the Eleusinion (T 20).

H. 0.023 m.; W. 0.17 m.; Th. 0.09 m.; L.H. 0.014–0.020 m.

Ed. Fine, p. 1, no. 2, photograph pl. 1; Finley, p. 190, no. 129 A.

[ὄρος χωρ]-  
[ίο ἀποτι]-  
[μ]ήματο[s]  
[Δ]ωρο . ^ , ,  
5 .ωνο[s] πα-  
[ί]δων Φιλο-  
κλέος κα[ί]  
[Φ]ιλόργο  
*vacat*

Line 4: At approximately the sixth letter space is the upper angle of an isosceles letter, and in the last one or two spaces are the lower parts of two vertical strokes; see Fine, p. 2.

**H74.** Stele of Pentelic marble (I 6107), broken away at the left and bottom; part of the top and perhaps part of the right side are preserved. The obtuse angle of the right side to the inscribed face and the way the back has been cut away indicate that the stone was once employed as a roof tile. Found on April 21, 1948, in a marble pile in the Industrial District southwest of the Agora Square (D–E 16–17).

H. 0.167 m.; W. 0.115 m.; Th. 0.077 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.020 m.

Ed. Fine, p. 3, no. 5, photograph pl. 1; Finley, p. 189, no. 120 A.

ὄρος  
[χ]ωρίο  
[κα]ὶ οἰκία-  
[ς ἀ]ποτιμ-  
5 [ήμ]ατος

[πα]ιδὸς [.]  
[---τ^---]  
*lacuna*

Line 6: The last letter space has been worked with a toothed chisel as if a letter has been erased. Between this space and the preceding sigma are marks resembling punctuation, but they may be only scarring.

Line 7: An upper horizontal stroke and the top of at least one (possibly three) vertical stroke which rises to the horizontal; tau is most likely, but a numeral, such as Ϟ, is possible; in approximately the following space is preserved a small part of the upper angle of an isosceles letter.

**H75.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 5878); part of the inscribed face is the only original surface preserved. Found on June 8, 1939, in Hellenistic fill in the Great Drain, in the Industrial District north of the Southwest Bath (C 18).

H. 0.11 m.; W. 0.067 m.; Th. 0.013 m.; L.H. 0.015 m.

Ed. Fine, pp. 2–3, no. 4, photograph pl. 1; Finley, p. 189, no. 126 A.

[ὄρο]ς χω[ρίου]  
[ἀπο]τίμη[μα]  
[. . .]οκλε[---]  
[Λ]αμπ[τρέως]  
*vacat*

Line 2: The lower part of a vertical stroke is preserved at the fractured right edge.

**H76.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 7164) with parts of original front face and back preserved; otherwise broken all around. Of the four partial lines of preserved text, the lower two are carved at a lower depth, as if over an erasure. Found on July 9, 1970, in the upper destruction fill of a Roman house (P 21).

H. 0.195 m.; W. 0.165 m.; Th. 0.055 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.020 m.

Ed. Miller, "Horoi," p. 274, no. 1, photograph pl. 53; SEG XXXIV, 164.

*lacuna*  
[---]παιδι[-]  
[---]φάντο[v]  
[---]δρωι Γα-  
[ργητ]τίω*vacat*

**H77** (Pl. 6). Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 3031). Part of the inscribed face is the only original surface preserved. Found on June 20, 1935, in a mixed Late Roman to Byzantine context north of the north wall of the Odeion of Agrippa (L 9).

H. 0.16 m.; W. 0.154 m.; Th. 0.05 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.020 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 52, no. 14, photograph p. 52; Fine, p. 28, no. 3; Finley, p. 152, no. 120; *SEG XXII*, 145.

[ῥ]ος χωρ[ί]-  
[ο]ν καὶ οἰκί-  
[α]ς ἀποτιμ-  
[ή]ματος π-  
5 [α]ιδὶ Φιλοκλ-  
[έους---]  
lacuna

#### ΑΠΟΤΙΜΗΜΑ ΠΡΟΙΚΟΣ

**H78.** A stele of Pentelic marble (I 1978), broken on the left side and bottom. The upper four inscribed lines are a notice of a *prōsis* ἐπὶ λύσει which has been lightly erased (**H84**). Below this, the following dotal inscription is carved. Found on May 9, 1934, in a cistern of the 1st century B.C., northwest of the Church of Dionysios the Areopagite (M 23).

H. 0.13 m.; W. 0.192 m.; Th. 0.04 m.; L.H. 0.005–0.017 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, pp. 54–55, no. 18 B, photograph p. 54; Fine, pp. 29–30, no. 7; Finley, pp. 161–162, no. 152.

a. 308/7 a.

[ἐπὶ Καί]ριμον ἄρχοντος  
[ῥος οἰκίας προικὸς ἀπ-  
[οτίμη]μα Σιμάλει  
lacuna

**H79.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 5579), preserving parts of the original inscribed face, right side, and back of a stele; broken away at top, left, and bottom. Parts of five lines of lettering preserved but chipped and encrusted with water deposit. Found on October 10, 1938, in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Agora Square and west of the Panathenaic Way (S 22).

H. 0.135 m.; W. 0.132 m.; Th. 0.04 m.; L.H. 0.010 m.

Ed. Fine, pp. 3–4, no. 6, photograph pl. 1; Finley, p. 190, no. 152 A.

a. 301/0 a.

[ἐ]πὶ Κλεάρ[χου]  
[ᾗ]ρχοντος ῥ[ος]  
[οἰ]κίας προικ-  
[ὸς ἀ]ποτίμη-  
5 [μα<sup>ca. 4</sup>---] ᾗ--  
lacuna

Line 5: Fine restores a dotted chi before the alpha, but the trace looks like the upper right segment of a circular letter.

**H80.** Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble (I 4698), broken at the top and right but preserving parts of the inscribed face, a beveled left edge, and the bottom edge. Found on April 10, 1937, in the 3rd-century B.C. fill of a cistern on the south slope of Kolonos Agoraios (B 14).

H. 0.14 m.; W. 0.175 m.; Th. 0.047 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.013 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 26, 1957, p. 218, no. 72, photograph pl. 54; *SEG XVII*, 59.

lacuna  
ιε[-----]  
[.]προῖκα[----]  
Ἀγαθάρχο[ν ---]  
κέως θυγ[ατρί] vacat  
vacat

Line 1: Where Meritt has dotted iota and epsilon I can now find only the lower parts of two vertical strokes.

Lines 3–4: Meritt restores Ἀλωπε|κέως and offers Θη-μα|κέως as another possibility.

**H81.** Block of white limestone (I 7342) with inscription complete except where chipped or worn by foot traffic. The upper side of the front face was dressed smooth as a background for the lettering; the lower part is rough picked. Found on July 25, 1971, built into the north wall of the room of the fish mosaic in Areopagus House C, northeast of the Areopagus (Q 21).

H. 0.33 m.; W. 0.35 m.; Th. undetermined; L.H. 0.016–0.018 (0.03 m. for numerals).

Ed. Miller, “Horoi,” pp. 274–276, no. 2, photograph pl. 53; *SEG XXXIV*, 163.

ῥ[ος οἰκ]ία[ς ἀπ]οτ[ε]ρ[ι]μ[ι]-  
ημένης προικὸς [Κλ]-  
ειταρέτης τῆς Σ[κύ?]-  
θο Φρεαρ(ρ)ίο θυγ[ατ]-  
5 ρός Χ[Ρ] vacat  
vacat

See Miller’s commentary on the prosopography and chronology of this text.

**H82** (Pl. 6). Block of Akropolis limestone (I 7001), roughly rectangular in shape; broken off at the upper right corner. The area of the inscription has been roughly dressed, but the other surfaces have been left in their quarried state. Rediscovered on May 10, 1965, north of the Amyneion on the south side of the Areopagus (F 30).

H. 0.61 m.; W. 0.53 m.; Th. 0.28 m.; L.H. 0.015 m. (0.025 m. for numerals).

Ed. E. Ziebarth, *SitzAkadBerlin*, 1897, p. 665, no. 2; J. Kirchner, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2671; Finley, pp. 160–161, no. 148; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 36, 1967, pp. 99–100, no. 32, photograph pl. 29; *SEG XXIV*, 207.

ὄρος οἰκίας ἀποτίμημα προικὸς  
Πατροκλείαι θυγατρὶ Παντήν[ορος]  
Φρεαρ(ρίου) Χ<sup>Π</sup> *vacat*  
*vacat*

Line 1: Ziebarth, the editors of *IG*, and Finley print ἀ[πο]τίμημα, but traces of all three bracketed letters are visible on the stone.

**H83**. Fragment of white marble (I 7003), broken on all sides but preserving part of the inscribed face and possibly part of the original back. Found on August 28, 1965, in a marble pile between the Middle Stoa and the east end of the South Stoa (N 14).

H. 0.17 m.; W. 0.17 m.; Th. 0.038 m.; L.H. 0.009–0.013 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 36, 1967, p. 99, no. 31, photograph pl. 29; *SEG XXIV*, 206.

[ὄρο]ς  
[χ]ωρίο ἀπο-  
[τι]μημένο  
[προικὸς Καλ-  
5 [---]της Χ<sup>1-2</sup>]  
*vacat*

#### ΠΡΑΣΙΣ ΕΠΙ ΛΥΣΕΙ

**H84**. A stele of Pentelic marble (I 1978), broken on the left side and bottom. The upper four inscribed lines, which are lightly erased, are the notice of *πράσις ἐπὶ λύσει*, the text of which is given here. Below this document on the stone is another security horos of the dotal type (**H78**). Found on May 9, 1934, in a cistern of the 1st century B.C., northwest of the Church of Dionysios the Areopagite (M 23).

H. 0.13 m.; W. 0.192 m.; Th. 0.04 m.; L.H. 0.005–0.017 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, pp. 54–55, no. 18 A, photograph p. 54; Fine, p. 32, no. 14; Finley, p. 138, no. 71.

a. 309/8 a.

[ἐπὶ Δη]μητρίου ἄρχον-  
[τος ὄρ]ος οἰκίας πεπραμ-  
[ένης] ἐπὶ λύσει : ΠΗΗ  
[ἐρα]μισταῖς *vacat*

**H85**. Fragment of blue-white marble (I 1888) with parts of the inscribed face, rough-picked back, and, possibly, a bit of the upper right edge preserved; broken away on all the other edges. Found on April 24, 1934, in the mouth of the aperture in the round basin beneath the second Temple of Apollo Patroös (H 7).

H. 0.20 m.; W. 0.228 m.; Th. 0.097 m.; L.H. ca. 0.015 m.

Ed. Fine, p. 5, no. 10, photograph pl. 2; Finley, p. 186, no. 85 A.

[ὄρο]ς οἰκίας πε-  
[πρα]μέννης [ἐ]πὶ  
[λύσει] *vacat*

Fine's restorations are undoubtedly correct, and I observe on the stone a few confirming letter traces not detected by him or his correspondent, J. H. Kent.

Line 1: The line of letters swings downward on the right side, and about the penultimate space, one of the verticals of pi is visible; to its right are the lower two horizontals and the lower half of the vertical of a letter which can only be epsilon.

Line 2: After the traces of eta is the upper stroke of sigma; in the area of the penultimate letter space is the lower part of a vertical, possibly of pi; in the last space is a tilted vertical which was probably intended as iota.

**H86**. Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 1455), broken all around except for part of the inscribed face, which had been rough picked to receive the lettering, and possibly a rough bottom edge. Found on February 27, 1934, in a mixed Hellenistic and Roman context southwest of the Agora Square (D–F 13–15).

H. 0.18 m.; W. 0.155 m.; Th. 0.056 m.; L.H. 0.012–0.020 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 53, no. 16, photograph p. 53; Fine, p. 31, no. 12; Finley, p. 133, no. 48.

[ὄρ]ος χωρί]-  
[ο] πεπ[ραμ]-  
[έ]νο ἐπ[ὶ] λύ]-  
[σ]ει : ΧΗ [---]  
*lacuna?*

Line 2: To the right of epsilon the lower part of a vertical stroke is visible at the broken edge.

With the original edition I could detect no letter traces below line 4, but Fine sees evidence of a fifth line which presumably contained the name of the creditor.

**H87.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 1117) with roughly broken edges. The crudely lettered text is intact except in the upper right corner and where there is surface chipping. Found on January 4, 1934, built into a modern house wall southwest of the Tholos (F 12).

H. 0.13 m.; W. 0.21 m.; Th. 0.04 m.; L.H. 0.012–0.020 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 93–94, no. 14, photograph p. 94; Fine, p. 31, no. 11; Finley, p. 134, no. 53.

ὅρος χωρί[ο]υ  
πεπραμένου  
ἐπὶ λύσει : ΠΗ  
Κίρωνι Πιθεῖ  
vacat

Line 4: There seems to be overlapping of rho and omega, but, as Finley notes, the name may be Kimon rather than Kiron.

**H88.** Red conglomerate block (I 7343). The inscription, near the top of the front face, was carved on top of a smooth patch of lime deposit and consequently has fallen away in part. Found on May 14, 1971, re-used with the inscription upside down, in the north wall of Roman House H (Q 20).

H. 0.60 m.; W. 1.30 m.; Th. ca. 0.50 m.; L.H. 0.013–0.016 m.

Ed. Miller, "Horoi," p. 279, no. 4, photograph pl. 54; *SEG* XXXIV, 162.

ὅρος οἰκίας  
[π]επ[ρα]μένου  
[ἐπὶ λύσει--] ΕΡΚΗΙΔΑΙΣ

The last letters of the third line very likely formed a dative plural signifying the creditors of this security loan (Miller).

**H89.** Large block of Akropolis limestone (I 7209). The editor, S. G. Miller, observes that the inscription was noted by J. W. Graham in 1964 and perhaps noticed by German excavators in the 1890's. It was rediscovered on April 26, 1971, *in situ* as one block of the polygonal wall of a house on the southwest side of the Areopagus (F 30).

H. 0.58 m.; W. 0.71 m.; Th. 0.33 m.; L.H. Text A 0.018–0.027 m., Text B 0.009–0.021 m.

Ed. Miller, "Horoi," pp. 276–279, no. 3, drawing p. 277, photograph pl. 53; *SEG* XXXIV, 160.

Text A ὅρος οἰκί-  
[α]ς πεπραμ-  
ένης ἐπὶ λύσ-

Text B εἰ.ΗΗΗ . . ἐραμιστ-  
5 αῖς τοῖς μετὰ Πυθο-  
δώρου [Ἀθμ]ονέως ΑΝΘ  
ΠΟΑ. Α. Σ. . . . ΔΑΘΕΙ

Miller gives a thorough and perceptive analysis of this difficult inscription. The first three lines (Text A) differ from the remainder (Text B) in their width, in the size of their letters, in the hand of the letter cutter, and in the lower surface on which they are carved. Miller reasonably concludes that these differences suggest a chronological progression and that Text B represents a later *πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει* to a new creditor of the property mentioned in Text A. The "erasing" by deep vertical gouges of Text B must have followed the voiding, probably by payment, of this later contract with the creditors, the *eranistai*. As Miller concedes, this explanation finds difficulty in the fact that Text A is more recessed, whereas we would expect Text B to be at the lower level if it were more recent. It is possible that Text A occupies the area of a short contract of even earlier date which was completely cut away from the stone. There are sporadic traces of a third text, but they now lie only under Text B, and they represent letters too small to have been part of Text A. A further problem still is the meaning of the letters at the end of line 6 and in line 7. Miller entertains the idea of a temporal qualification in the security loan and offers a restoration *exempli gratia*, but in the end he concludes that the precise significance of this part of Text B remains unknown.

**H90.** Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble (I 5357) with parts of the original front face, back, top, and bottom preserved; the left side is broken away, and the right edge is badly damaged. The inscribed surface is much worn and encrusted with water deposit. Found on March 22, 1938, built into a modern house wall south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (O–P 18).

H. 0.23 m.; W. 0.155 m.; Th. 0.055 m.; L.H. 0.015–0.030 m.

Ed. Fine, pp. 11–12, no. 22, photograph pl. 4; Finley, p. 191, no. 171 B.

ὅρος χω[ρίου]  
[κ]αὶ οἰκ[ίας πε]-  
[πρα]μένω[ν ἐπὶ]  
[λύσει] . . τ[---]  
5 [-----]  
[---]Σ vacat

I have detected on the stone a few more letters and traces of letters than have Fine and his correspondent, J. H. Kent, but in all cases these observations confirm Fine's restoration of the formulas.

Line 1: In the two spaces to the right of sigma are visible successively the lower left and upper right diagonals of chi, and the left leg and a trace of the curve of omega.

Line 2: One space to the right of alpha is the lower third of iota. In the next three spaces to the right are successively most of the left semicircle of omicron, the lower third of iota, and the two diagonal strokes of kappa.

Line 4: About three or four letter spaces into the line are the lower two thirds of a vertical stroke which I restore as iota. In the third space to the right of this is a complete tau.

Line 5 or 6: About two lines, but possibly one line below the restored iota of line 4 is a complete sigma.

Strictly speaking, Finley is correct that ἀποτετιμημένων is a possible restoration in lines three and four, but given the now fairly secure restoration of line one, the longer word would seem to lengthen unduly lines three or four.

**H91.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 5507) with part of the inscribed face and possibly part of the original left side preserved. Found on May 31, 1938, in a marble pile in the area south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (N–Q 17–19).

H. 0.115 m.; W. 0.13 m.; Th. 0.035 m.; L.H. 0.018–0.024 m.

Ed. Fine, p. 13, no. 24, photograph pl. 5; Finley, p. 185, no. 66 C.

[ὄρος χωρί]-  
ου πε[πραμ]-  
ένου[----]  
' τετ[----]  
lacuna

Line 4: To the left of the first tau is the upper part of what seems to be a vertical letter stroke, perhaps the right vertical of eta but more likely iota, which would be more in line with the first letters of the preceding lines.

As Fine notes, the name of the purchaser probably either preceded the ἐπὶ λύσει (cf. **H108**) or the ἐπὶ λύσει was omitted as in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2763 and 2764 and *IG* XII 8, 22; against the thesis of F. Pringsheim (*The Greek Law of Sale*, Weimar 1950, pp. 157–179) that these horoi lacking explicit reference to encumbrance are notices of actual sales rather than security transactions, see the summarizing argument and new evidence of P. Millett (footnote 103 above, p. 18), pp. 227–230.

**H92** (Pl. 6). Irregularly shaped slab of Hymettian marble (I 5376), apparently intact. The inscribed area has been dressed with a toothed chisel, but the rest of the stone is rough cut. Found on March 29, 1938, near the modern surface south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (O 18).

H. 0.26 m.; W. 0.274 m.; Th. 0.063 m.; L.H. 0.013–0.037 m.

Ed. Fine, pp. 12–13, no. 23, photograph pl. 5; Finley, p. 185, no. 67 A.

ὄρος οἰκίας  
πεπραμέν-  
ης ἐπὶ λύσει  
τῶι δῆμῳ τ-  
5 ῶι Κεραμέω-  
ν XXX vacat  
vacat

For the demes as contracting parties in the use of real security, cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2670 and **H99**; see also Fine, *loc. cit.*

**H93.** Slab of white stone with blue-gray veins (I 5748) with parts of inscribed face, top edge, and badly chipped right side preserved; broken off at right and bottom. Found on March 30, 1939, built into a modern wall southwest of the Eleusinion and west of the Panathenaic Way (S 21).

H. 0.145 m.; W. 0.165 m.; Th. 0.056 m.; L.H. 0.013–0.025 m.

Ed. Fine, p. 13, no. 25, photograph pl. 5; Finley, pp. 185–186, no. 82 B.

[ὄρος]s χω[ρί]-  
[ου] πεπρα[α]-  
μένον[---]  
[.]ικος[---]  
lacuna

Line 3: Most of the right stroke of mu is visible at the broken left edge of the stone. To the right of omicron is a small vertical cut which appears to be part of a letter stroke.

Fine restores προικός in lines 3/4; for security horoi linking πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει with dowries, see *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2681–2683; **H104**; Fine, pp. 162–163; Finley, Chap. IV at note 59. In this case Finley would prefer the restoration of a proper name to προικός.

**H94.** Slab of Hymettian marble (I 5881), mended from two fragments. Perhaps the right side and top are original with the use of the stone as a horos, but the back, bottom, and left sides are roughly broken away. The inscribed face has been dressed with a toothed chisel. The letters are shallowly scratched and very uneven. Found on June 17, 1939, built into a modern house wall in the Industrial District northwest of the Areopagus (D 19).

H. 0.24 m.; W. 0.215 m.; Th. 0.072 m.; L.H. 0.008–0.030 m.

Ed. Fine, pp. 13–15, no. 26, photograph pl. 5; Finley, pp. 183–184, no. 31 A–B.

Hand I  
[ὄρ]os [χωρίου]  
[καὶ οἰ]κ[ο]πέδο[v]

[πε]πραμένων  
[ἐπ]ὶ λύσει [---]  
5     Δ Δ Ι  
         κ ι τ  
      ιος Βατῆθεν  
          *vacat*

Hand II  
XHHH

5     [ἐ]ρανισ[σ]ταῖς τ[ο]-  
      [ι]ς μ[ε]τὰ Βλεπαίου

Line 4 (Hand I): Fine's correspondent, J. H. Kent, observes a vertical stroke under the chi of Hand II, and Fine, although he could not detect it on squeeze or photograph, restores it as the numeral H. I could see in this area only the dressing marks of a toothed chisel; therefore I restore nothing to the right of λύσει.

Line 7: I agree with Kent that the vertical stroke at the left margin is iota; Fine himself suggests nu, which would give us νος, the ending of a patronymic.

Fine gives a full epigraphic commentary on this difficult text, which Kent correctly recognized as a palimpsest. Above, I have printed the overlapping texts separately as did Fine. Apparently Hand I carved a full document of sale ἐπὶ λύσει with the sum in lines 4 and 5, the name of the creditor in line 6, and his demotic in line 7. Later, Hand II used the same stone to record another sale, possibly of the same property, to *eranistai*. Since the terms of this new agreement were the same as those of its predecessor through the word λύσει, Hand II simply executed a half-hearted erasure beyond that point and superimposed the value of the new sale and the designation of the new creditors. Hand II left line 7 of the earlier inscription un-erased either because he did not need the space or because the eranist Blepaios was, like the creditor of the first transaction, from the deme of Bate.

**H95.** Block of red conglomerate (I 6013), roughly surfaced even on the inscribed face. Broken away at the top and left edges. Found on June 13, 1947, built into a Byzantine house wall southwest of the Agora and east of the Great Drain (D 18).

H. 0.265 m.; W. 0.35 m.; Th. 0.14 m.; L.H. 0.020–0.025 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 33, 1964, p. 226, no. 75, photograph pl. 37; *SEG* XXI, 660.

[ὄρος οἰκίας]  
[πεπραμ]έννη[s]  
[ἐπὶ λύσ]ει Πειθωνί  
[Μαρα]θωνίωι  
5     [Ἀρμο]δίωι Ἀ-  
      [φι]δναίωι ΧϞ  
          *vacat*

Line 6: Meritt brackets chi, but I observe on the stone all but the lower left diagonal of that letter.

**H96.** Fragment of white marble with blue veins (I 6554), preserving parts of the original front face, rough-picked back, and right side. The right side is beveled back at an acute angle to the inscribed face. Found on June 17, 1952, in a pile of marbles from the southeast corner of the Agora Square (K–P 14–17).

H. 0.135 m.; W. 0.142 m.; Th. 0.044 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.020 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, p. 44, no. 54, photograph pl. 2; *SEG* XXI, 659.

[ὄρος] οἰκ[ίας]  
[πεπρα]μένης ἐπ[ὶ]  
[λύσει] ϞHHH    *vacat*  
                  *vacat*

**H97.** Fragment of blue limestone (I 5970) with part of the inscribed surface and possibly part of the right side preserved. The lettering is badly eroded. Found on April 4, 1947, in a Byzantine context in the Industrial District east of the Great Drain (D 18).

H. 0.118 m.; W. 0.095 m.; Th. 0.045 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.018 m.

Ed. Fine, pp. 15–16, no. 27, photograph pl. 5; Finley, p. 185, no. 66 D.

[ὄρος χωρ]ίω  
[πεπρα]μένο  
[ἐπὶ λ]ύσ[ε]ι Ϟ [---]  
[---]ι Ἀνα-  
5     [φλυ]σ[τ]ί[ωι]  
          *lacuna*

The text as edited may have been preceded by an archon's name, for in the upper right corner there seem to be vertical letter traces of one or two lines preceding ὄρος χωρίω.

Line 3: Iota is visible in the second space to the right of sigma, and in one space farther to the right is a vertical stroke with part of a diagonal connected to it at the top and sloping down to the right.

**H98.** Stele of Hymettian marble (I 6491), mended from two fragments; the original bottom edge and most of the left edge are missing, and the front face is badly chipped at the upper and lower right side. The upper front face was dressed smooth for the inscription, but the other surfaces were rough picked. Found on April 2, 1952, in a modern context near the Great Drain east of the Church of the Holy Apostles (Q 15).

H. 0.295 m.; W. 0.205 m.; Th. 0.065 m.; L.H. 0.016 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, p. 43, no. 52, photograph pl. 13; *SEG* XXI, 657.

ὄρος οἰκίας]  
πεπραμένη[s]

Καλλικρατίδε-  
ι Σπειριεὶ Φίλω-  
5 νι ῥαμνοσίω[ι]  
ἐπὶ λύσει X *vacat*  
*vacat*

Line 1: Meritt's restoration of the aspirate eta as the first letter cannot be certain since the lettering is somewhat irregular and the first lines are sometimes indented.

Line 2: At the broken left edge the short right vertical stroke of pi is visible.

**H99.** Rough block of Pentelic marble (I 7060), tapering inward from top to bottom. Most of the original edges are preserved, but the inscribed face is badly chipped and worn. Found on July 15, 1969, in the west wing of Areopagus House C (O 21).

H. 0.24 m.; W. 0.145 m.; Th. 0.081 m.; L.H. *ca.* 0.014 m.

Ed. Miller, "Horoi," pp. 279–280, no. 5, photograph pl. 54; *SEG* XXXIV, 161.

ὄρος ο[ικ]-  
ίας πεπ-  
ραμένη-  
ς ἐπὶ λύσ-  
5 ει Φηγαι-  
εῦσι . . Ἡ  
*vacat*

For the demes as contracting parties, see **H92**.

**H100.** Fragment of blue-gray marble (I 7141) veined with brown, broken away at the right side and bottom; the inscribed face is badly weathered, the back surface rough picked. Found on June 13, 1970, re-used in a Byzantine wall (N 6).

H. 0.157 m.; W. 0.123 m.; Th. 0.057 m.; L.H. *ca.* 0.011 m.

Ed. Miller, "Horoi," p. 280, no. 6, photograph pl. 54; *SEG* XXXIV, 159.

[δ']ρος χω[ρίο]  
πεπρα[μέν]-  
ο ἐπὶ λ[ύσει K]-  
αλλίππ[ωι Πα]-  
5 λληνε[ῖ-<sup>3-4</sup>]  
ο[.]ν[---]  
*lacuna*

**H101.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 238) from the upper right corner of a rectangular slab. Found on May 17, 1932, in a marble pile at the north foot of the Areopagus (F–G 16–17).

H. 0.090 m.; W. 0.074 m.; Th. 0.047 m.; L.H. 0.015–0.027 m.

Ed. Fine, pp. 4–5, no. 9, photograph pl. 2; Finley, p. 187, no. 101 A.

[ὄρο]ς  
[χωρίου καὶ] οἰ-  
[κήματος] πε-  
[πραμένων ἐ]-  
5 [πὶ λύσει---]  
*lacuna*

For οἰκήματος, which here fits the spacing better than οἰκίας, cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2735.

**H102.** Irregular fragment of Hymettian marble (I 1973), broken slightly on the left and right sides but elsewhere probably preserving its original dimensions. Found on May 8, 1934, built into a modern cellar wall over the central part of the Middle Stoa (M 13).

H. 0.20 m.; W. 0.215 m.; Th. 0.063 m.; L.H. 0.015–0.027 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 54, no. 17, photograph p. 54; Fine, pp. 31–32, no. 13; Finley, p. 138, no. 72.

ὄρος  
[οἰ]κίας πεπραμένη[s]  
ἐπὶ λύσει  
X Π  
*vacat*

**H103.** Fragment of bluish stone with white veins (I 2058), broken off at bottom and right edges but elsewhere apparently preserving the original shape. Found on November 3, 1934, built into a modern house wall east of the southern part of the Odeion of Agrippa (N–O 11).

H. 0.145 m.; W. 0.152 m.; Th. 0.044 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.020 m.

Ed. Fine, pp. 5–6, no. 11, photograph pl. 2; Finley, p. 185, no. 66 B.

ὄρος  
χωρίο[v]  
πεπραμ[ένον]  
[ἐπὶ λ]ύσει [---]  
*lacuna*

Lines 3 and 4 are lightly erased or badly worn. In line 4, iota is visible after the traces of epsilon.

**H104.** Block of white marble (I 2251), mended from two fragments. The preserved left edge forms an obtuse angle to the front face; parts of the right and bottom edges are broken away; most of the inscribed area is preserved, but the lettering of the lower left fragment is badly worn and pitted. Found on December 21, 1934, built into a modern house wall over the east end of the Middle Stoa (N 13).



H. 0.28 m.; W. 0.31 m.; Th. 0.045 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.020 m.

Ed. Fine, pp. 6–7, no. 12, photograph pl. 2; Finley, p. 183, no. 21 A.

[ῥο]ς χωρίου καὶ οἰκίας  
[πεπ]ραμένων ἐπὶ λύ[σει]  
προ[ικ]ὸς ΧΧ  
M. . . . . AΙΚΥΡΙΩ  
5 Δ. . . . . ΛΙΤΕΙ  
vacat

Line 1: The right half of the second omicron of ῥος is visible.

While recognizing the epigraphical uncertainties of lines 4 and 5, Fine suggests a partial and tentative restoration which is very reasonable as such:

M[. . . . .] καὶ κυρίως  
Δ[. . . . .] Μελιτεί

“If this restoration is correct, apparently we are to understand that the farm and house were sold ἐπὶ λύσει as security for the dowry to M- and her kyrios, Δ- of Melite” (Fine). For the use of the *πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει* contract as security for a dowry, see H93.

**H105.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 2728), preserving parts of the inscribed face and original top and back surfaces. Found on March 30, 1935, in destruction debris of the Palace of the Giants over the East Building of the South Square (O 14).

H. 0.055 m.; W. 0.082 m.; Th. 0.045 m.; L.H. ca. 0.015 m.

Ed. Fine, p. 7, no. 13, photograph pl. 3; Finley, p. 187, no. 101 B.

[ἐπὶ ---- ῥο]χον[τος]  
[ῥος ----] πεπρα[μέ]-  
[ν . . ἐπὶ λύσει ----]  
lacuna

Fine’s restoration of χωρίου in line 2 cannot be certain.

**H106.** A rough-quarried stone of Hymettian marble (I 4231) with all but the upper left corner of the inscribed surface intact. Found on June 1, 1936, at the modern surface north of the Odeion of Agrippa (M 7).

H. 0.335 m.; W. 0.28 m.; Th. 0.08 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.020 m.

Ed. Fine, p. 10, no. 19, photograph pl. 4; Finley, p. 187, no. 92 A.

[ῥο]ς οἰκίας καὶ κα-  
[π]ηλείου καὶ κήπ-  
ου πεπραμένων

ἐπὶ λύσει Καλλίπ-

5 πωι Φαληρεῖ : Π  
vacat

**H107.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 4134) with all original surfaces broken away except for parts of the inscribed face and left edge. Found on May 6, 1936, built into the wall of a Turkish bothros west of the northern part of the Stoa of Attalos (P 7).

H. 0.13 m.; W. 0.174 m.; Th. 0.065 m.; L.H. 0.012–0.015 m.

Ed. Fine, pp. 9–10, no. 18, photograph pl. 4; Finley, p. 186, no. 85 B.

[ῥος]  
[ο]ικίας [ἐπὶ]  
λύσει πεπ[ρα]-  
[μ]ένη[ς ----]  
lacuna

Line 1: The traces of rho and a second omicron observed by Fine are no longer visible, as the surface has been chipped away in that area.

In this inscription, placement of the participle after ἐπὶ λύσει reverses the usual order of the formula.

**H108.** A slab of Hymettian marble (I 3701), probably preserving its original shape except for a break in the upper right corner. The inscribed face is rough, but the back surface is dressed smooth. Found on March 7, 1936, in a marble pile north of the Odeion of Agrippa (L–M 8).

H. 0.18 m.; W. 0.23 m.; Th. 0.055 m.; L.H. 0.008–0.020 m.

Ed. Fine, pp. 8–9, no. 17, photograph pl. 3; Finley, p. 182, no. 18 A; W. K. Pritchett, *American Historical Review* 58, 1952 (pp. 337–338), p. 338.

ῥος χωρί[ου]  
καὶ οἰκίας [πε]-  
πραμένης Ἀ[σ]-  
[[φάλ[ει ----]]  
5 [[ο ---- ἐν]]  
XXX ὀφελ  
vacat

Pritchett’s review of Fine and Finley seems right in the observation that the area of lines 4 and 5 was at some time erased, although there is apparent continuity of lines 3 and 4 in the proper name Ἀσφάλης. In the remainder of line 4 the traces seem to me so vague as to rule out any reconstruction, including Fine’s ἐπ[ὶ λ]ύσει, and I would subscribe to Pritchett’s suggestion that lines 4 and 5 continued with a *nomen* and a demotic. The lower half of omicron is clear in the first space of line 5.

In line 6, beyond the numeral, it seems that the only letters cut were the extant ὀφελ, apparently an abbreviation

of  $\delta\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\nu$ . The iota of  $\delta\phi\epsilon\iota\lambda$  which Fine reads in his photograph is a fracture line.

**H109.** Block of Hymettian marble (I 4245), broken or chipped on all sides, but the original dimensions may be roughly preserved. Inscribed on two faces. The surface of Face A has been smooth picked with a toothed chisel, but Face B is rough picked. Found on June 10, 1936, in the late Hellenistic fill of a cistern on Kolonos Agoraios, north of the Hephaisteion (E-G 2).

H. 0.115 m.; W. 0.13 m.; Th. 0.045 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.015 m.

Ed. Fine, pp. 10–11, no. 20, photographs pl. 4; Finley, p. 186, no. 85 C.

Face A	[δ]ρος οἰ[κ]-	Face B	Ἀρίστω[ν]-
	[ί]ας πε[πρ]-		ος Γαργή[τ]-
	[αμένης---		[τίον-----]
	[---]σ[τ]---		lacuna
	lacuna		

Since part of the first line of Face A is preserved, it is likely, but not certain, that Ἀρίστω[ν] constituted the first line on Face B. It is therefore not certain whether the text of Face B is a separate document or a continuation of that on Face A. Fine suggests that the two sigmas in line 4 of Face A may belong to a proper name, or may have formed part of the word ἐρανισ[σ]ταῖς, misspelled as in **H94** above. He notes that if the latter were the case, the text of Face B might then be explained as a continuation of the document preserved on Face A with the following restoration: [ἐρανι]σ[σ]ταῖς τοῖς μετὰ Ἀρίστω[ν]ος. Fine speculates alternatively that, since a considerable portion of the bottom of the stone may be lost, line 1 of Face B might be the continuation of a second document which began on a lost lower portion of Face A.

**H110.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 3682), broken on all sides except for part of the rough-picked front face and possibly a bit of the original left side. Found on March 6, 1936, in a marble pile, near the Tholos (F-G 11).

H. 0.115 m.; W. 0.23 m.; Th. 0.172 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.018 m.

Ed. Fine, p. 8, no. 16, photograph pl. 3; Finley, p. 186, no. 86 A.

ὄρος κοπ[ρῶνος]  
[κ]αὶ οἰκημ[ατίου]  
[πεπ]ρ[αμένων ἐπὶ]  
[λύσει-----]  
lacuna

With Fine I observe apparent letter traces at the broken edge of the stone above line 1 as transcribed here and consider that the inscription may have begun with an archon's name.

As parallels for the restoration of lines 1 and 2, see *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2742 and 2496, lines 9–12; C. Vatin ("Jardins et services de voirie," *BCH* 100, 1976, pp. 555–564) strengthens the interpretation of κοπρῶν in these texts as privy rather than dung heap.

**H111.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 3647), preserving parts of the original inscribed face, left side, top edge, and, possibly, the rough-cut back. Found on February 29, 1936, on the modern surface west of the northern part of the Stoa of Attalos (O-P 8).

H. 0.108 m.; W. 0.113 m.; Th. 0.031 m.; L.H. 0.017 m.

Ed. Fine, pp. 7–8, no. 15, photograph pl. 3; Finley, p. 184, no. 39 A.

ὄρος οἰκίας]  
καὶ χ[ωρίου πεπρ]-  
αμ[ένων ἐπὶ λύ]-  
σ[ει-----]  
lacuna

**H112** (Pl. 7). A large, roughly cubic block of gray limestone with yellowish veins (I 7498). The surface is rough picked except for the inscribed area, which has been dressed with a toothed chisel. The inscription, which was shallowly cut, is badly eroded and may have been partially erased, as some of the chiseling is below the level of the letters. Letters and traces are detectable only in four lines. The stone is large beyond the purposes of the inscription and may have been a wall block. Found in April 1975 in a modern house wall just southeast of the Stoa of Attalos (R 13).

H. 0.33 m.; W. 0.275 m.; Th. 0.28 m.; L.H. ca. 0.015 m.; the horizontal letter spacing is ca. 0.020–0.025 m.

Unpublished.

[-----] | ↑ .ΑΣ[-----]  
[-- ἐρ]γαστηρί[ο]ν[-----]  
[-- πεπ]ραμέν[ω]ν[-----]  
[-----] , ' [-----]  
vacat

Line 1: The first trace of a letter is the lower part of a vertical stroke. In the following space are most of a left vertical and a diagonal sloping downward to the right, probably of nu.

Line 2: Of the dotted eta the upper halves of the verticals are preserved.

Line 3: Dotted rho is restored from a full vertical and part of an upper horizontal joining it at the right. In the following space are the vertex and lower left diagonal of alpha. Of dotted nu the left vertical and part of the diagonal survive.

Line 4: The only clear traces, below epsilon of line 3, are the upper and lower parts of a diagonal sloping up to the right.

The letters in line 1 are so close to the top of the chiseled surface that they must be part of the original first line of

the inscription, although they do not suggest the opening formula of a security horos or an archon's name. Since the stone is shaped like a building block and the chiseled area extends to the left and right edges, it may be that the original text spread over adjoining stones. *Ergasteria* are mentioned as encumbered real estate in nine other extant security horoi (Finley, p. 121, no. 7; pp. 142–143, nos. 87–96; p. 165, no. 161; p. 191, no. 166 A; *SEG* XXI, 655; see also Finley, pp. 65–71 for a discussion of *ergasteria* in real security), and most of these involve *πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει*. As only the genitive plural of the participle can be restored in line 3, the security would have included property in addition to the *ergasterion*, probably land, another building, or a work force of slaves.

**H113.** Block of Hymettian marble (I 3450) with all original surfaces broken away except for part of the inscribed face. Found on February 18, 1936, built into a modern house wall over the western part of South Stoa II (K 15).

H. 0.285 m.; W. 0.23 m.; Th. 0.09 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.020 m.

Ed. Fine, p. 7, no. 14, photograph pl. 3; Finley, pp. 184–185, no. 66 A.

[δ]ρος οἰκ[ιῶν πεπρα]-  
μένω[ν ἐπὶ λύσει]  
[-]εν[-----]  
[Π]αῖα[νι]ε[ῖ]

5 X

*vacat*

Line 5 is badly weathered and may originally have included more numerals.

#### ΥΠΟΚΕΙΜΕΝΗ ΕΠΙ ΛΥΣΕΙ

**H114** (Pl. 7). Block of Hymettian marble (I 6613), intact except for chipping at the upper left corner, right center, and possibly the lower left. The front face of the stone was used for two inscriptions, the first (Text A) being partially erased with chisel marks, and the second (Text B) added in large letters after the stone had been turned upside down. Found on April 22, 1953, in a drain southeast of the Church of the Holy Apostles (P 17).

H. 0.22 m.; W. 0.175 m.; Th. 0.028 m.; L.H. Text A 0.006–0.010 m., Text B 0.008–0.018 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, p. 44, no. 53, photograph pl. 13; *SEG* XXI, 658.

Text A ὄρος οἰκία[s]  
ὑποκειμέν[ης]  
ἐπὶ λύσει  
Καλλία[ι]  
5 Εὐωνυ[μεί]--]  
*vacat*

Text B [δ]ρος οἰκίας  
ὑποκειμένης  
ἐπὶ λύσει  
Καλλία  
5 Εὐωνυμεί H  
*vacat*

For the problems involved in understanding the meaning of *ὑποθήκη* as the term is used in regard to transactions of real security, see Fine, Chap. IV; Finley, pp. 28–31. Although modern scholars customarily refer to the hypothec as a contract designated by the verbs *ὑποτιθέναι* or *ὑποκείσθαι*, the use of either term does not necessarily mark a transaction as a hypothec. Fine argues (pp. 62, 69, and 74–82) that these verbs may often have been used with a general meaning signifying any kind of contract in which real security was involved, and he cites a number of contracts from inscriptions and orations which, although they lack the term *ἐπὶ λύσει*, were arguably cases of *πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει*. But he also contends (pp. 94–95; see also footnote 110 above, p. 18) that the hypothec in a more specific sense was a later alternative to *πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει* by which the debtor, in retaining ownership of a partially encumbered property, could use it as security for further loans up to the full value of that property. In the present inscription we have the first known document using the verb *ὑποκείσθαι* with the formula *ἐπὶ λύσει*. Since the Athenians were often not precise or technical in their use of *ὑποκείσθαι*, and since the horoi were intended as notices of encumbrance rather than official records of contracts, we are probably dealing here with two cases of sale with the right of redemption in which *ὑποκειμένης* served the same purpose as *πεπραμένης*.

#### ANTICHRESIS

**H115** (Pl. 7). Fragment of poros (I 6983), broken on all sides except for the top, which is beveled downward from the inscribed face. Most of the inscribed area is rough and pitted. Found on June 11, 1964, in fill overlying the west end of an andron south of the Lesche located on the south side of the Areopagus (C 29).

H. 0.217 m.; W. 0.24 m.; Th. 0.06 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.020 m.

Ed. Miller, "Horoi," pp. 280–281, no. 7, photograph pl. 54; A. P. Christophilopoulos, *Νομικὰ Ἐπιγραφικά*, Athens 1977, p. 70; *SEG* XXVII, 10.

[ἐπὶ <sup>ca. 4</sup> ]ε[ο]υ[s] [ᾗ]ρ[χ]ο[υ]τ[os]  
[μηνὸς] Μουνιχιῶν[os]  
[ὄρος οἰκία]ς ὑποκειμέν[ης]  
[ἡς <sup>ca. 4</sup> ]σ[ι]κ[λ]ε[ῖ] Θρι[ασίωι]  
5 [ <sup>ca. 5</sup> ὥσ]τ[ε] ἔχειν κ[αὶ] κρα]-  
[τεῖν κ]ατὰ συνθή[κας τὰς]  
[κειμ]ένας παρ[ὰ]----]  
erased

Line 1 has been erased, but still yields a few letter strokes.

Line 8 is erased and completely illegible.

See Miller for commentary on the traces in line 1, the possible restorations of the archon's name, and the dating of a mortgage by month.

With Christophilopoulos I restore Θρι[ασίω] rather than Miller's Θριᾶσι.

#### UNCERTAIN TYPE

**H116.** Stele of Hymettian marble (I 293), broken off at the bottom; most of the smooth-dressed front and parts of the rough top, back, and sides preserved but all badly chipped. Parts of all five lines of crude lettering are preserved. Found in 1933, built into the wall of a modern house east of the Civic Offices (J 12).

H. 0.14 m.; W. 0.205 m.; Th. 0.07 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.020 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 3, 1934, p. 65, no. 57; A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 11, 1942, p. 313; S. Dow and A. H. Travis, *Hesperia* 12, 1943, pp. 163–164; Fine, p. 28, no. 1 and pp. 25–26, Addendum II, *b*, photograph pl. 7; Finley, p. 161, no. 151.

ξ[πῖ----]ων [---ᾶρχ]-  
οντος ὄρος οἰκίας E-  
ὑμ<ἐ>νει Τη[-----]  
[Δ]<ε>κελέως π[-----]  
5 [ᾶ]ποτίμημ[α]  
*vacat*

Line 1: With Finley I observe the greater part of a letter which can only be omega. In the next letter space is a left vertical leaning slightly to the right, possibly of nu, and beyond that, the lower part of another vertical leaning to the right.

Since π[ροικός] as well as π[αιδί] could be restored in line 4, the classification of this contract as a *μίσθωσις οἴκου* is not certain; Fine favors the latter restoration on the grounds that it would fit better within the apparent width of the lines.

For a summary of the inconclusive debate about restoration of the archon's name, see Fine, pp. 26–27.

**H117.** Stele of Hymettian marble (I 5873), broken off at the right; parts of front, back, left side, and possibly bottom preserved. The inscribed area has been dressed with a toothed chisel, and the lettering is unusually neat for a security inscription. Found on June 8, 1939, at the Late Hellenistic level in a cistern west of the Panathenaic Way (R 21).

H. 0.175 m.; W. 0.17 m.; Th. 0.058 m.; L.H. 0.009–0.013 m.

Ed. Fine, p. 2, no. 3, photograph pl. 1; Finley, p. 190, 164 A.

a. 267/6 a.

ἐπὶ Πει[θυδήμων ἄρ]-  
χοντος [ὄρος -----]  
ἀποτίμη[μα-----]  
Ἀντιφίλ[ου-----]  
5 Προξέν[ωι]  
*vacat*

This contract could be dotal or pupillary depending whether *παιδί* or *προικός* is to be restored in line 3. Line 2 was most likely complete with *οἰκίας* or *χωρίου*. The restoration of the archon's name as here is the only possibility (see Fine, p. 2).

**H118.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 3280) preserving parts of the front face, top, and left side of the original stone. The four partially preserved lines of text are badly worn. Found on January 14, 1936, built into a modern house wall over the east end of South Stoa I (N 16).

H. 0.165 m.; W. 0.092 m.; Th. 0.088 m.; L.H. 0.013 m.

Ed. Fine, p. 1, no. 1, photograph pl. 1; Finley, p. 191, no. 171 A.

ὄρο[s--]  
οἰκία[s--]  
Φρα[--]  
σιω[--]  
*lacuna*

The type of contract cannot be identified with certainty, but Fine restores

ὄρο[s χωρίου καὶ]  
οἰκία[s ἀποτίμημα]  
Φρα[-----παι]-  
σὶ "Ω[αθεν-----]  
*lacuna*

**H119** (Pl. 7). Fragment of gray and white-veined stone (I 6710) with part of the inscribed face, back, side, and top preserved. The letters are slightly clubbed at the extremities. Found on March 18, 1955, built into the foundation of a modern house southeast of the Church of the Holy Apostles (Q 17).

H. 0.16 m.; W. 0.14 m.; Th. 0.045 m.; L.H. 0.020–0.023 m.

Unpublished.

ὀ[ρος-----]  
χωρ[ίον-----]  
π[ρο]ικὸς[-----]  
*vacat* (?)

Line 3: At the fractured edge to the left of rho are traces of a vertical and a horizontal meeting at a right angle to form the upper right part of a letter.

There seems to be more than the usual interlineal space below line 3, and the document may have been limited to three lines; for a parallel dotal horos of such brevity, cf. Fine, p. 4, no. 8.

The missing portions of this inscription may have included the word *ἀποτίμημα*, but the document must be classified as uncertain because of the possibility that it marked a dowry in real property rather than property serving as security for a dowry (cf. Finley, Chap. IV at note 63 and pp. 192–193, commentary on no. 175 A; Fine, p. 118, note 20).

**H120** (Pl. 7). Slab of Hymettian marble (I 5629) with most of the inscribed face, top, and sides preserved; broken off at the lower right side and bottom. Found on November 22, 1938, built into a modern house wall at the north foot of the Areopagus (P 22).

H. 0.16 m.; W. 0.19 m.; Th. 0.08 m.; L.H. 0.012–0.020 m.

Ed. Fine, p. 4, no. 7, photograph pl. 2; Finley, pp. 192–193, no. 175 A.

ὄρος  
οἰκίας  
προικὸς  
Ἀρχιλλ[η]

5 Π vacat

Given the uninscribed space in parts of two letter spaces to the right of the numeral, it is likely that we have the complete text except for the last two letters of the proper name. Finley allows that the missing lower portion of the stone may have contained the word *ἀποτίμημα*, but whether the term was omitted or lost, he is right to classify the horos as uncertain and to consider the possibility that it “marked a dowry in real property, evaluated in monetary terms as required by law (see Chap. IV at note 63), not a security transaction.” Fine also (p. 118, note 20) considers this possibility but classifies the document as a dotal *apotimema*.

**H121.** Slab of Hymettian marble (I 5698), broken away at the upper left, but part of the top edge possibly preserved on the right side. Found on May 10, 1939, built into a modern house wall southwest of the Eleusinion and west of the Panathenaic Way (S 21).

H. 0.14 m.; W. 0.19 m.; Th. 0.047 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.030 m.

Ed. Fine, p. 4, no. 8, photograph pl. 2; Finley, p. 193, no. 175 B.

[ὄρο]ς  
[χ]ωρίο  
[π]ροικὸς  
vacat

It is uncertain whether this horos was a dotal security document with the word *ἀποτίμημα* omitted or the marker of real estate as dowry; cf. **H119** and **H120**.

**H122.** Fragment of dark-veined marble (I 7021) with part of the inscribed face and, possibly, parts of the original top, left, and back surfaces preserved. Found on September 7, 1966, in a modern level near the west end of South Stoa I (L 16).

H. 0.155 m.; W. 0.17 m.; Th. 0.046 m.; L.H. 0.016–0.035 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 37, 1968, p. 292, no. 34, photograph pl. 84; *SEG* XXV, 202.

ὄρος [---- ἀποτί]-  
μημ[α-----]  
[-----<sup>traces</sup>]

**H123.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 273), preserving parts of the original front and back surfaces and, possibly, parts of the top and left edges; broken away elsewhere. The lettering is unusually well done for a security horos. Found during the pre-excavation period of 1933, built into the wall of a modern house over the west end of the Middle Stoa (I–J 13).

H. 0.165 m.; W. 0.11 m.; Th. 0.065 m.; L.H. 0.015–0.025 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 3, 1934, p. 65, no. 58, drawing p. 65; Fine, p. 25, Addendum II, a and p. 28, no. 2, photograph pl. 7; Finley, p. 165, no. 164.

ὄρ[os]  
ἀποτ[ιμή]-  
ματος [. . .]  
[<sup>2-3</sup>-----]στ[. . .]  
5 ^ [<sup>2-3</sup>-----]θ[ε[. . .]  
lacuna

Line 5: In the first letter space, part of the vertex of an isosceles letter is visible. I follow previous editors in printing a theta but dot it since the point at the center of the circle may be simply one of many pits in the stone. The following space has the upper left juncture of a vertical and a horizontal.

Fine, while recognizing that the specific type of *ἀποτίμημα* recorded here is uncertain, classifies the document as a *μίσθωσις οἴκου*.

The apparent failure of the horos to mention the kind of property serving as security is unusual.

**H124.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 5639) with all original surfaces broken away except for parts of the inscribed face, the rough-hewn back, and, possibly, the top edge. Found in the period of January 16–21, 1939, in a

modern context in the Industrial District southwest of the Agora Square (A–D 17–22).

H. 0.165 m.; W. 0.16 m.; Th. 0.039 m.; L.H. 0.007–0.011 m.

Ed. Fine, pp. 16–22, no. 28, drawing p. 16, photograph pl. 5; Finley, p. 188, no. 114 A.

[ὄρο]ς οἰκίας π[ε]-  
[πρα]μένους Δι[ο]-  
[τίμ] ?οι Μελιτεῖ  
[τιμ]ῆς ἧς ἐνεγύη[σε]  
5 [ἀραβ]ῶνα τοῦ ἐράν[ου]  
[τοῦ π]εντακοσιοδρ[άχ]-  
[μου] πληρώτρια Δη-  
[μῶ] ? ἔως ἂν διεξ-  
[έλθῃ] vacat

My study of the stone produced no exceptions to the text which Fine restored “with great hesitation and doubts.” Although some of these supplements and interpretations are controversial, the crude letters surviving on the stone are very reliably transcribed by Fine, who gives us a detailed epigraphical commentary.

It is not possible to classify this transaction with certainty. The horos is either a notice of the terms of a simple sale of property or a marker of the property in a *prōsis* ἐπὶ λύσει with the term ἐπὶ λύσει omitted. Fine opts for the former, but Finley leaves the matter in doubt. Finley also corrects two misconceptions of legal institutions in Fine’s lengthy and speculative interpretation of the transaction, pointing out that ἐγγύη was not the pledge of an object but personal suretyship, and that the uncertainly restored ἀραβῶν had only the specific meaning of “earnest” and never the general sense of deposit, payment, or contribution as required by Fine’s interpretation that “Diotimos”, who had bought the house on credit, guaranteed the payment of the price to the vendor by pledging his contribution in an *eranos* loan.

**H125.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 5851), preserving parts of the original inscribed face, back surface, and right side. Found on May 26, 1939, in a mixed Byzantine context north of the Southwest Bath (C 18).

H. 0.12 m.; W. 0.135 m.; Th. 0.043 m.; L.H. 0.012–0.020 m.

Ed. Fine, pp. 23–24, no. 32, photograph pl. 6; Finley, p. 191, no. 166 A.

[ὄρο]ς ἐργασ-  
[τηρί]ων τῶν  
[ἀνοι]κοδομη-  
[μέν]ων καὶ [ἀν]-  
5 [δρα]πῶδ[ων]--]  
lacuna

**H126.** Fragment of white limestone (I 5971), preserving parts of the inscribed face and the original top edge. Found on April 16, 1947, in a Byzantine context in the Industrial District east of the Great Drain (D 17).

H. 0.099 m.; W. 0.134 m.; Th. 0.043 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.022 m.

Ed. Fine, p. 24, no. 33, photograph pl. 6; Finley, p. 192, no. 171 F.

[ὄρο]ς συνοικία[s]  
[---]ΣΤΗΣΠ[---]  
[---]'Τ' [---]  
lacuna

**H127.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 2339), badly worn and battered. The inscribed face, which is partly erased or eroded, is the only surface recognizable as part of the original horos. Found on February 1, 1935, in a marble pile near the northwest corner of the Odeion of Agrippa (K 8–9).

H. 0.28 m.; W. 0.19 m.; Th. 0.073 m.; L.H. 0.015–0.020 m.

Ed. Fine, p. 22, no. 29, photograph pl. 6; Finley, p. 192, no. 171 C.

ὄρος  
About 4 lines erased (?)  
X Π  
vacat

To the right of X are most of the horizontal and left vertical of Π, perhaps originally Π or Π.

If the smooth gap in the middle of the inscription is an erasure, it was created by abrasion rather than the usual cutting down with a chisel. This probable erasure and the surviving numeral contribute to the likelihood of the stone’s being a security horos rather than a simple marker of property.

**H128.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 2817), with all original surfaces broken away except part of the inscribed face. Found on April 25, 1935, in a marble pile near the northwest corner of the Odeion of Agrippa (K 8–9).

H. 0.170 m.; W. 0.155 m.; Th. 0.05 m.; L.H. 0.010–0.025 m.

Ed. Fine, p. 23, no. 31, photograph pl. 6; Finley, p. 192, no. 171 E.

lacuna  
ΠΗΗ'Α[π]-  
ολλ[ο]δ[ώρωι ?]  
Κυδαθ[ηναιεῖ]  
lacuna

The type of contract is uncertain, but I follow Fine in restoring *exempli gratia* the proper name and demotic in the dative case as if they designated the creditor in a *πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει*.

**H129.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 2441) with parts of the inscribed face and back side of the stele preserved. The smooth-sawed right side projecting at an obtuse angle from the base seems to be the result of a later use. The upper part of the front face was dressed smooth for the inscription, and the lower part was rough picked. Found on February 15, 1935, built into the cellar wall of a modern house over the east end of the Middle Stoa (N 13).

H. 0.245 m.; W. 0.15 m.; Th. 0.06 m.; L.H. 0.014–0.020 m.

Ed. Fine, pp. 22–23, no. 30, photograph pl. 6; Finley, p. 192, no. 171 D.

*lacuna*

[-----] ∆[---]  
[---]ς Ἐρχι[έως--]  
[--]-ς *vacat*

Line 1: To the left of delta I observe the lower part of a diagonal stroke sloping downward to the right.

Line 3: To the left of sigma at the fractured edge is part of an oblique, but nearly horizontal, stroke sloping downward to the right.

Because of the partial letter stroke in line 3 and the roughness of the left side of the stone, I do not follow Fine in his belief that the original left side is preserved, his determination of the original width of the line, or his restoration of the demotic Ἐρχιέως as overlapping lines 2 and 3. As Fine notes, it is only the appearance of the stone and the surviving demotic that suggest that this inscription comes from a security horos.

**H130** (Pl. 7). Fragment of gray schist (I 1974), roughly square in shape. Parts of the original inscribed face and the back surface are preserved, but the original width and height of the horos are not evident. The face of the stone is so rough and eroded that only scattered letters are detectable. Found on May 8, 1934, in a marble pile in the south-central part of the Agora Square (K–L 14–15).

H. 0.215 m.; W. 0.237 m.; Th. 0.073 m.; L.H. 0.025–0.030 m.

Unpublished.

[ῥ]ος[---]  
[----]Η[---]  
[---]ΟΣΧ[---]  
*lacuna*

The crude stonework and lettering suggest a security horos, but a simple property marker is not precluded.

## 8. ADDENDUM (H131)

**H131.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 4468) with parts of the face, lower left edge, and, possibly, back preserved. Found on January 25, 1937, built into a modern house wall on the north slope of the Areopagus (M–N 20).

H. 0.13 m.; W. 0.135 m.; Th. 0.057 m.; L.H. *ca.* 0.015 m.

Ed. Fine, p. 11, no. 21, photograph pl. 4; Finley, p. 187, no. 101 C; C. W. Hedrick, Jr., *Hesperia* 57, 1988, pp. 81–85, no. 1.

[ιερὸν]  
[.]ΗΡ[---]  
καὶ Ἡρ[ακλέος]  
Θυμαι[τίδος]  
5 φρατρ<ι>α[s]  
*vacat*

Line 2: The remains of dotted rho are a left vertical with part of a horizontal stroke extending from its midpoint to the right.

Line 3: The remains of dotted rho are the lower two-thirds of a horizontal stroke.

The text given here is essentially the reconstruction by Hedrick, who observes correctly that Fine's traces of rho in line 1 and pi in line 2 ([--- π<ε>]πρ[αμένων --]) are actually remnants of eta in the first preserved line, and that in lines 3–5 we have the left margin of the original text. Hedrick demonstrates that the inscription was not used to identify property as security in a *πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει* but to mark a shrine at which the phratry Thymaitis worshipped gods or heroes, among them very probably Herakles.

## II. POLETAI RECORDS

BY

MERLE K. LANGDON



## PREFACE

Inscribed records of the Athenian *poletai* were set up in or near the Agora in antiquity, and numerous fragments of them have been found in excavations there, especially those conducted by the American School of Classical Studies from 1931 to the present. The purpose of this study is to bring together in one place all such inscriptions so far found. The form of presentation is that established by B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill for the records of the Athenian councillors and published as *The Athenian Agora, XV, Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors*, Princeton 1974. All *poletai* inscriptions housed in the Agora Museum and the Epigraphical Museum have been examined, and the emphasis has been on the establishment of as correct a text as possible in each case. Since most of the inscriptions have been published previously, commentary has been kept to a minimum. The same principle applies to illustrations. Photographs are given only of those inscriptions which have new pieces joining them or which have not been previously published (**P18**, **P27**, **P43**, and **P51**) and of a few unpublished fragments of uncertain classification which are relegated to an appendix.

The inscriptions are arranged in approximate chronological order. Because of their fragmentary state it is not often possible to suggest a date closer than a particular quarter or even half century. Dates suggested by previous editors have generally been found convincing and are adopted here.

Note should be made of one literary and two epigraphical conventions used throughout this study. Aristotle is referred to as the author of the *Athenaion Politeia* without prejudice to the question as to whether or not that work is actually by his hand. Ancient writers habitually applied his name to the work, and so the same is done here. The terms “Hymettian” and “Pentelic” are applied to the kinds of marble from which the *stelai* were fashioned. These terms are here descriptive rather than scientific. By Hymettian is meant the fine-grained bluish gray marble most characteristic of Mt. Hymettos and by Pentelic the medium-grained white marble commonly found on Mt. Pentelikon. The layout of the texts is described as *stoichedon* or non-*stoichedon* following the principles set forth by M. J. Osborne, *ZPE* 10, 1973, pp. 249–270. *Stoichedon* is used for texts whose letters exhibit a generally regular vertical and horizontal alignment even though no guidelines are visible.

For entrusting to me the restudy of these inscriptions I wish to thank Homer A. Thompson and Benjamin D. Meritt. Both men greatly contributed to my work with aid, advice, and guidance whenever it was requested. Both read the whole manuscript and made numerous improvements. I wish also to thank T. Leslie Shear, Jr., Field Director of the Agora Excavations, for generously permitting me to include those fragments of *poletai* inscriptions found during excavations of the Agora in the early Seventies. L. J. Bliquez, R. S. Stroud, J. S. Traill, and M. B. Walbank all read part of an initial draft and made valuable suggestions. J. McK. Camp II, D. J. Geagan, and J. S. Traill helped with epigraphical readings. To all these individuals I owe a debt of gratitude and an obligation to acknowledge those errors and shortcomings that remain as solely mine.

I am obliged to Field Director T. Leslie Shear, Jr., former secretaries Effi Sakellaraki, Lucy Krystalli, and Helen Townsend, and technician, the late Spyros Spyropoulos of the Agora Excavations for numerous services which facilitated my study in the Agora Museum. Director K. Peppas-Delmouzou and her staff extended similar courtesies at the Epigraphical Museum.

Finally, I should like to pay tribute to the late Margaret Crosby and to Benjamin D. Meritt. These scholars first published most of the inscriptions included in this collection, and restudy of the stones has in the great majority of cases only confirmed the accuracy of their readings. The keenness of their eyes cannot be bettered.

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May 9, 1985

Since the completion of this manuscript I have been able to take into account publications bearing on matters that it contains and to make changes accordingly. I wish to thank Marian H. McAllister, Editor, and the rest of the staff of American School Publications for their patience and attentive care over several revisions and their vigilance respecting numerous inconsistencies. His death in 1988 prompts restatement of tribute and now dedication of this study of the poletai and their records to Benjamin D. Meritt.

M. K. L.

Seattle  
June 27, 1990

ADDENDUM: The study by Klaus Hallof, "Der Verkauf konfiszierten Vermögens vor den Poleten in Athen," *Klio* 72, 1990, pp. 402–26, appeared only after this manuscript was set in final page proofs, and I have not been able to make use of it in my discussion.

## POLETAI RECORDS

2. "Ἐπειθ' οἱ πωληταὶ ἰ μὲν εἰσι, κληροῦται δ' εἷς ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς. μισθοῦσι δὲ τὰ μισθώματα πάντα, καὶ τὰ μέταλλα πωλοῦσι καὶ τὰ τέλη μετὰ τοῦ ταμίου τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν ἡρημένων ἐναντίον τῆς [βουλῆς]· καὶ κυροῦσιν, ὅτῳ ἂν ἡ βουλὴ χειροτονήσῃ, καὶ τὰ πραθέντα μέταλλα, τὰ τ' ἐργάσιμα τὰ εἰς τρία ἔτη πεπραμένα καὶ τὰ συγκεχωρημένα τὰ εἰς [ἑ]ῖς ἔτη πεπραμένα. καὶ τὰς οὐσίας τῶν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου φευγόντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐναντίον τῆς βουλῆς πωλοῦσιν, κατακυροῦσι δ' οἱ θ' ἄρχοντες. καὶ τὰ τέλη τὰ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν πεπραμένα ἀναγράφαντες εἰς λελευκωμένα γραμματεῖα τὸν τε πριάμενον καὶ [ὅσου] ἂν πρίηται τῇ βουλῇ παραδιδόασιν. 3. ἀναγράφουσι δὲ χωρὶς μὲν οὓς δεῖ κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐκάστην καταβάλλειν, εἰς δέκα γραμματεῖα, χωρὶς δὲ οὓς τρις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, γραμματεῖον κατὰ τὴν καταβολὴν ἐκάστην ποιήσαντες, χωρὶς δ' οὓς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης πρυτανείας. ἀναγράφουσι δὲ καὶ τὰ χωρία καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰ πογραφέντα καὶ πραθέντα ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ· καὶ γὰρ ταῦθ' οὗτοι πωλ[οῦσιν]. ἐστὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν οἰκῶν ἐν ἑ ἔτεσιν ἀνάγκη τὴν τιμὴν ἀποδοῦναι, τῶν δὲ χωρίων ἐν δέκα· καταβάλλουσιν δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης πρυτανείας.

Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 47.2–3  
*Oxford Classical Text*

Then there are the ten poletai, one appointed by lot from each phyle. They let out all public contracts, and along with the treasurer of the stratiotic fund and those elected to manage the theoric fund they lease the mines and taxes in the presence of the Boule; and to whomever the Boule should choose by vote, they ratify the leased mines, both those that are in working condition, which are leased for three years, and those that have been conceded, which are leased for [ten] years. And in the presence of the Boule they sell the property of those men exiled by the Areopagus and of other exiles, and the nine archons ratify the sales. And they record on whitened tablets the taxes leased for the current year, and the purchaser and for how much he bought it, and they hand these tablets over to the Boule. They record separately on ten tablets those who have to pay installments every prytany and those who have to pay three times a year, making a separate list for each installment, and those who have to pay in the ninth prytany. They also record the lands and houses confiscated and sold by judgment of the lawcourt. For they sell these too. The price of houses must be paid within five years, the price of the land within ten years. They pay these installments in the ninth prytany.

The financial affairs of ancient Athens were managed by a number of boards of magistrates who worked with the Boule. One such board was the poletai, whose inscribed transactions are collected in this study. Our main source for the poletai is the passage from Aristotle quoted above which informs us that it was their duty to farm out public contracts, to lease the state-owned silver mines in southern Attica and the privileges of collecting taxes, and to sell the confiscated property of persons exiled by the Areopagus. They were ten men chosen by lot,<sup>1</sup> one from each phyle. One of them served as chairman (*prytanis*),<sup>2</sup> and to assist them they had a secretary and a herald. The secretary was apparently not one of the ten members of the board, for in P5, which contains the only list of annual poletai completely preserved, the secretary (lines 5–6) belongs to the

<sup>1</sup> We may possess some 5th-century allotment tokens of the poletai in a small group of clay plaques from the Athenian Agora: cf. M. Lang, "Allotment by Token," *Historia* 8, 1959, pp. 80–89; E. S. Staveley, *Greek and Roman Voting and Elections*, Ithaca, New York 1972, p. 70; for illustrations, cf. *Hesperia* 20, 1951, pl. 25:c; M. Lang, *The Athenian Citizen*, Excavations of the Athenian Agora Picture Books, No. 4, Princeton 1960, fig. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *πρυτανεύει δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἷς, ὃς τὰ πωλούμενα βεβαιοῖ* (Pollux, 8.99). Possible implications of the verb used by Pollux here are discussed by R. Develin, "Prytany Systems and Eponyms for Financial Boards in Athens," *Klio* 68, 1986 (pp. 67–83), p. 70.

same phyle as one of eight poletai named (line 4, Glaukon).<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Antiphon (6.49 [*On the Choreutes*]) speaks of a ὑπογραμματεὺς of the poletai (probably the same official as the γραμματεὺς of the inscription), and there it is clear that he is an assistant to the poletai and not one of their number. The herald is not mentioned in the ancient literature but rather is inferred from the designation of herald's fees (κηρύκεια) in four inscriptions: **P3**, lines 4–5; **P5**, line 37; **P45**, line 3; **P53**, line 46. He may have been one of the poletai themselves or, like the secretary, an adjunct official. Besides making announcements of up-coming sales, he probably also served as the auctioneer at those sales. Sales by the poletai took the form of an auction, and a skilled auctioneer was essential to insure that the sales were as profitable to the state as possible. "Auctioneer" is an amply attested meaning of κήρυξ, and that the κήρυξ of the poletai received fees indicates that his work involved something more than just broadcasting future sales.

In Aristotle's time the poletai worked with the treasurer of the stratiotic funds and the theoric board and were closely supervised by the Boule. Such careful supervision was necessary in the case of financial officials who handled public funds. Antiphon (6.49 [*On the Choreutes*]) records one incident of embezzlement in 418 B.C., when the poletai, the poristai, and the praktores were impeached on that charge.<sup>4</sup> Although this is the only known instance of malfeasance by the poletai, the temptation would always have been present. For this reason close scrutiny of the college was maintained by the Boule and other officials. Furthermore, since the treasurer of the stratiotic funds and the members of the theoric board could be re-elected, they had valuable financial experience with which to assist the poletai, who served only an annual term of office.<sup>5</sup> For the period before the Kleisthenic constitution we have no information about the poletai except the statement of Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 7.3) that they existed in the time of Solon. Our discussion of their activities will therefore center on the 5th and 4th centuries, for which the evidence is fairly abundant.

### CONFISCATED PROPERTY

The most important duty of the poletai was the sale of confiscated property. **P1–P5**, **P14**, **P17**, **P20**, **P24**, **P26**, **P31**, possibly **P36**, **P42**, **P43**, **P45**, **P47–P49**, and **P52–P56** contain records of such sales.<sup>6</sup> The sales, made at auction to the highest bidder, were of the personal and real property of persons convicted of crimes for which exile or execution was the penalty. These persons included public debtors,<sup>7</sup> intentional homicides,<sup>8</sup> and others.<sup>9</sup> The number of sales varied from year to year. In the complete record of 367/6 (**P5**) there was only one, while in an incomplete document of ca. 340 (**P26**) at least six are recorded. Sometimes there were also extraordinary confiscations which had to be dealt with. From Lysias (30.22 [*Against Nikomachos*]) we learn that when state coffers were running low the Boule was not averse to admitting a greater number of

<sup>3</sup> This observation was first made by M. Crosby, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 10, 1941 (pp. 14–27), p. 20. Other ten-member boards functioning without their full complement of members are not unknown from ancient Athens. W. S. Ferguson (*Hellenistic Athens*, London 1911, p. 26) suggests that shortages in 4th-century colleges of ten may have been caused by a decline in the number of qualified candidates, an idea repeated by M. H. Hansen ("Perquisites for Magistrates in Fourth-Century Athens," *ClMed* 32, 1971–1980 [pp. 105–125], pp. 121–122). See also W. E. Thompson, "Notes on Athenian Finance," *ClMed* 28, 1967 (pp. 216–239), p. 220, note 17; V. Gabrielsen, *Remuneration of State Officials in Fourth Century B.C. Athens*, Odense 1981, p. 145, note 114.

<sup>4</sup> J. T. Roberts (*Accountability in Athenian Government*, Madison, Wisconsin 1982, p. 22) suggests that this impeachment was taken through court by means of an εἰσαγγελία.

<sup>5</sup> This is noted by P. J. Rhodes (*The Athenian Boule*, Oxford 1972, pp. 106–107).

<sup>6</sup> Summary but interesting remarks on poletai transactions of this type have appeared recently in R. Osborne, *Demos, the Discovery of Classical Attika*, Cambridge 1985, pp. 51–54.

<sup>7</sup> For the process of ἀπογραφή, by which the property of a debtor was seized, see Harrison, *The Law of Athens: Procedure*, pp. 211–217. This procedure usually led to involvement by the poletai but not always. In the accounts of the ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1604–1632), which record numerous ἀπογραφαί of delinquent trierarchs, the apodektai are, with two exceptions, the board receiving payment from sales of debtors' estates. One of the exceptions is *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1631, lines 429–441, a case involving Stesileidas of Siphnos in which the poletai receive payment. Although it is unclear why the apodektai are not named here as receivers, the money collected was given, as was customary, to the supervisors of the dockyards. The other exception, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1610, lines 3–4, near the beginning of a fragmentary text, apparently records a similar payment from the poletai to the naval supervisors.

<sup>8</sup> Although unintentional homicides were exiled, their property was not confiscated. The evidence is collected by D. M. MacDowell, *Athenian Homicide Law in the Age of the Orators*, Manchester 1963, pp. 117–121.

<sup>9</sup> A good summary of other offences punishable with confiscation is given by Harrison (*The Law of Athens: Procedure*, pp. 178–179).

court cases involving confiscations in order to increase state revenues.<sup>10</sup> **P4** gives us a tantalizing bit of epigraphical evidence concerning properties on Lemnos which are being confiscated. **P1** records the famous sale of properties of those found guilty of profaning the Eleusinian Mysteries and mutilating the Herms in 415 B.C., and **P2** contains similar records of those involved in the tyranny at the end of the 5th century, both affairs involving some fifty persons each.

Confiscations of people's land and houses were bound to lead to complications which required the attention of the poletai. Concerning compensation, for example, what did the state make over to an exile who was pardoned and who returned to Athens after his estate had been confiscated and sold, or to a debtor who satisfied his debts? The answers to these questions are clear. In the most famous case of confiscation and subsequent pardon and return, that of Alkibiades, we see what the state did for a very powerful person with influential friends. It gave him wealth in return for what it had taken from him when he was condemned *in absentia* in 415.<sup>11</sup> The same may have been done for Konon upon his triumphal return to Athens in 394.<sup>12</sup> But a less important person who was pardoned or whose conviction was overturned received nothing from the state by way of recompense for his confiscated estate.<sup>13</sup> In the case of public debtors the state returned to the individual, or to a member of his family, any proceeds from the sale of his property which exceeded the amount owed the treasury (Demosthenes, 40.20 [*Against Boiotos II*]).

A related question to be considered is what claim a pardoned exile or his family could lodge against the purchaser of his estate. It is clear that he could take no action. Athenian law protected the buyer against this possibility. Demosthenes (24.54 [*Against Timokrates*]) quotes a law to the effect that no one could bring an action against sales made by the state, and Pollux (8.99) goes further in stating that the chairman of the poletai acted as guarantor for the board's sales. Thus no legitimate basis for a claim was left to the original owner. Before the sale a wife could claim from her husband's confiscated estate an amount equivalent to her dowry (*Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. ἐνεπίσκημμα καὶ ἐνεπισήψασθαι καὶ ἐγγύης καταβολήν), but once she and outside creditors had been satisfied, the poletai made an unconditional sale.

The laws on compensation and counterclaims are to be understood as applying only to sales made of property legally confiscated. An example of what was done about sales resulting from illegal confiscations on one occasion is provided by a fragment of Lysias<sup>14</sup> which recounts what happened after the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants. Buyers of property seized by the Thirty were allowed to retain movables which they had purchased, but they had to return land and houses to the original owners. It may seem surprising that the purchasers were allowed to keep any goods at all, but this should probably be viewed as an exceptional decision made in keeping with the wide sweeping policy of appeasement and reconciliation adopted by the restored democracy.<sup>15</sup>

Given the fairly routine nature of the other duties of the poletai, it is easy to see that the keeping of records of all sales of confiscated properties, payments and interests, including installment payments from previous sales, and private claims (ἐνεπισκήμματα) which had been judged valid occupied a considerable

<sup>10</sup> It is my impression that Lysias is making a general statement reflecting, if not a habitual practice of the Boule, at least not an uncommon one. For the opposite view see A. Andreades, *A History of Greek Public Finance*, C. N. Brown, trans., Cambridge, Mass. 1933, pp. 276–277.

<sup>11</sup> Plutarch, *Alkibiades* 33.3; Diodoros, 13.69.2. Without such friends Alkibiades' son did not meet with similar success when he tried to recover the family estate after it was again confiscated, this time by the Thirty Tyrants in 404: Isokrates, 16.46 (*Concerning the Team of Horses*).

<sup>12</sup> We know only that Konon's estate was confiscated after he fled to Cyprus from Aigospotamoi (Lysias, 19.34 [*On the Property of Aristophanes*]), not that he received any compensation later.

<sup>13</sup> For evidence, see P. Usteri, *Ächtung und Verbannung im griechischen Recht*, Berlin 1903, pp. 119–127.

<sup>14</sup> B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XIII, London 1919, p. 56, no. 1606, lines 22–48.

<sup>15</sup> This view was first put forward by T. Reinach ("Le plaidoyer de Lysias contra Hippotheres," *REG* 32, 1919 [pp. 443–450], pp. 447–448); for further discussion see T. C. Loening, *The Reconciliation Agreement of 403/402 B.C. in Athens* (*Hermes Einzelschrift* 53), Stuttgart 1987, pp. 51–52, 88–97. Loening's position is misunderstood by G. Németh ("Die dreissig Tyrannen und die athenische Prosopographie," *ZPE* 73, 1988 [pp. 181–194], p. 182, note 11). *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 85 may also have concerned itself with what to do about some questionable confiscations: cf. A. G. Woodhead, "I.G., I<sup>2</sup>, 95, and the Ostracism of Hyperbolos," *Hesperia* 18, 1949 (pp. 78–83), pp. 80–82.

amount of the time of each board's tenure in office.<sup>16</sup> These records then passed to the Boule for use as evidence in matters of litigation which might arise in connection with any of the sales.<sup>17</sup>

### MINING LEASES

Lists of mining leases or *διαγραφαί* (s.v. *διαγραφή* in Harpokration and the Suda) constitute by far the greatest bulk of the inscribed material belonging to the poletai: **P5–P16, P18–P30, P32–P41** (with the possible exception of **P36**), **P43, P44, P50, and P51**. They have already received a great deal of attention,<sup>18</sup> and so they need be only briefly noted here. What we learn from the inscribed lease lists is, primarily, who the lessees were and the names, prices, and locations of mines. We do not learn the length of the leases or what the price stated for each list represents. For the former we may turn to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 47.2), who informs us that they were for three and, probably, seven years. The shorter period was for renewals, the longer for new explorations.<sup>19</sup> There is some doubt regarding the latter figure because the numeral is mostly obliterated in the papyrus of the *Athenaion Politeia* in the British Museum. Margaret Crosby argued convincingly for the figure seven,<sup>20</sup> and although Mortimer Chambers now confirms that the numeral is to be read as three,<sup>21</sup> he accepts Crosby's arguments and explains the figure as an error in transcription. Aristotle does not, on the other hand, help us to clarify the meaning of the prices given for the leases. Crosby believed that they represented the lump-sum payments for the duration of the leases, or possibly annual payments.<sup>22</sup> R. J. Hopper considers it more likely that they are prytany payments,<sup>23</sup> and his arguments appear to me to be the stronger.

All the inscribed leases date within the 4th century, with a period of almost seventy years separating the earliest (**P5**, 367/6 B.C.) from the latest (**P51**, ca. 300 B.C.). It has been questioned whether the poletai had anything to do with mine leases before this series of inscriptions began.<sup>24</sup> The doubts raised could be valid, but only if the initial appearance of inscribed leases corresponded to the first actual leases of mines by the state. I find this difficult to accept. The mines were flourishing in the 5th century before the occupation of Dekeleia by the Spartans, and private citizens were certainly making money by renting slaves to the mine

<sup>16</sup> The poletai would of course not have been busied with goods which the state confiscated but did not sell. These included a tithe from confiscated estates given to Athena: Xenophon, *Hellenika* 1.7.10; Andokides, 1.96 (*On the Mysteries*). In addition, a certain number of slaves could have been retained for civic purposes, some land added to the public domain, and any number of domestic furnishings put to public use. Cups and other vessels labeled with the delta-epsilon ligature or delta-eta, which signify public ownership, were found around the Tholos and in refuse pits near the Stoa of Zeus. Some of the cups are so similar to one another as to suggest standardized products of one workshop: see B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora*, XII, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th, and 4th Centuries B.C.*, Princeton 1970, p. 93. These could have been made on commission for public use rather than represent the state's portion of the crockery from a confiscated cupboard. On the other hand, miscellaneous vessels, including two saltcellars, an amphora, a lekane, a one-handler, and others were also found having the public label: see M. Lang, *The Athenian Agora*, XXI, *Graffiti and Dipinti*, Princeton 1976, pp. 51–52. These vessels could, I believe, have belonged to private citizens before being acquired by the state as part of confiscated estates. The same could possibly hold true for some of the 13 vessels of 5th-century date with the delta-epsilon ligature found in a pit behind the Stoa Basileios: cf. T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 383–384. Four Late Archaic spear butts from the Akropolis with delta-epsilon may be a tithe to Athena from some confiscated estate: cf. A. W. Johnston, "Some Inscribed Sauroterres from the Akropolis," *AAA* 9, 1976, pp. 87–89.

<sup>17</sup> That the poletai had no legal jurisdiction in matters related to their sales was correctly observed by Harrison (*The Law of Athens: Procedure*, p. 28).

<sup>18</sup> Detailed discussion and bibliography can be found in the studies of R. J. Hopper: "The Attic Silver Mines in the Fourth Century B.C.," *BSA* 48, 1953, pp. 200–254; "The Laurion Mines: A Reconsideration," *BSA* 63, 1968, pp. 293–326; and *Trade and Industry in Classical Greece*, London 1979, pp. 165–189. A brief account, full of errors and misconceptions, is given by J. F. Healy (*Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World*, London 1978, pp. 103–112). Add to these now the profitable analysis of the lessees found in the mining leases by Osborne (footnote 6 above, p. 58), pp. 111–126.

<sup>19</sup> K. E. Konopagos (*Τὸ ἀρχαῖο Λαύριο*, Athens 1980, pp. 428–437) presents a radically different interpretation of the terms used by Aristotle in which *ἐργάσιμα* is equated with exploratory work, *συγκεχωρημένα* with producing mines. The more convincing orthodox view is best elucidated by Hopper (*BSA* 48, 1953, pp. 201–203).

<sup>20</sup> "The Leases of the Laureion Mines," *Hesperia* 19, 1950 (pp. 189–312), pp. 199–211.

<sup>21</sup> "Notes on the Text of the *Ath. Pol.*," *TAPA* 96, 1965 (pp. 31–39), pp. 36–37. Rhodes (*Commentary*, p. 554) concurs in this.

<sup>22</sup> *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 203–204.

<sup>23</sup> *BSA* 48, 1953, pp. 224–239, esp. 237–239.

<sup>24</sup> Hopper, *BSA* 48, 1953, p. 253.

workings.<sup>25</sup> It is just as likely that private entrepreneurs were leasing mines from the state at this time, too. If this was so, the poletai would surely have been in charge of the leases.<sup>26</sup> The reason that we possess no records from the earlier period could be that the poletai kept only unpublished records then, written up on wooden tablets. The question must then be asked why mining leases ever began to be published on stone in the first place. In answering, one point which should be emphasized is that the inscribed lists were matters of public record. They were set up in the Agora for all to see, and visibility itself could have been the motive behind the marble stelai. Publication was initiated during an especially busy period of mining activity and was done for convenience. Potential lessors were provided with readily available data, and the poletai were saved the trouble of having to consult their unpublished records whenever someone wanted information about a particular lease.<sup>27</sup> Another possible explanation for the inscribed records could be that they served as the official accounts by which the poletai underwent their *εὔθυνα*. It is more likely, however, that wooden tablets with mining leases were always used for this examination of accounts. Aristotle mentions wooden tablets only in association with payments of tax purchasers, but this is probably only because of the more involved procedure in listing these payments. For mining leases a simple list could be kept each year on a wooden tablet, and this practice need not have received mention from Aristotle.<sup>28</sup>

If a change in the administration of the mines occurred, it more likely came with the increase in mining activity in the 2nd century B.C. than with the 4th-century revival. The mines had declined after 300 B.C., and inscribed lease lists disappear. No inscribed lists accompany the renewed activity of the 2nd century, and this fact suggests that the poletai were no longer connected with the mines. It could be argued that the poletai simply reverted back to their previous habit of keeping only unpublished records, but it is difficult to understand why they would not have set up public records in the 2nd century as they had done in the 4th unless the mines were being run in a different fashion. The new issue of Attic silver coinage in the 2nd century indicates that this in fact was the case. The New Style owls have on their reverse a series of letter combinations which most probably are abbreviations for names of mines in southern Attica.<sup>29</sup> That the state was taking such care to record the exact sources of the silver used in each issue suggests that the government itself was now working the mines and using all the recovered ore for coinage. The mines were not being leased to individuals, and so the poletai had no leases to administer and no records to keep.

Five of the preserved inscriptions contain records of sales of confiscated property as well as leases of mines (**P5**, **P14**, **P20**, **P26**, and **P43**), and another has been given a restored heading which would place it in this group (**P19**). The rest are too fragmentary to allow us to say that sales and leases always shared the

<sup>25</sup> In addition to wealthy citizens such as Nikias, whose sizable earnings from slaves leased to the mine workings is well attested (Xenophon, *Ways and Means* 4.14; Plutarch, *Nikias* 4.2), some men of lesser means were also known to have leased out slaves in like manner, e.g. Diokleides (Andokides, 1.38 [*On the Mysteries*]).

<sup>26</sup> Crosby (*Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 191, note 5) has remarked that the language of the sausage seller in Aristophanes' *Knights*, line 362, suggests a form of administration for the mines in the latter 5th century similar to that in the 4th century.

<sup>27</sup> Walbank (pp. 166–167 below) believes that the same reason is likely for publication on stone of state leases of public lands. For records of sales of confiscated properties the reasons for publication on stone were different. In the first place, such a public record clearly showed to all that a convicted party had been punished by having his possessions confiscated and sold. Secondly, recording the names of buyers and the amounts of their purchases was useful to citizens who were keen on pursuing defaulters and to the state which benefited accordingly by normally receiving prompt payment from buyers who were loath to default and be publicly denounced. Rhodes (*Commentary*, p. 555) argues that records of sales of confiscated properties were published in order to protect the rights of the buyer. But the wooden tablets made up by the poletai and handed over to the Boule were surely the documents that did this. Unlike Rhodes and others I side with those who regard the wooden tablets as archival material, not merely temporary records. Briefly on this, and with bibliography, cf. E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, pp. 97–102. The whole question of record keeping and publication by the poletai briefly occupied M. I. Finley in one of his last essays, in *Ancient History: Evidence and Models*, London 1985, pp. 32–33, 40–42. Unfortunately, the best survey of the evidence is unpublished: G. V. Lalonde, *The Publication and Transmission of Greek Diplomatic Documents*, diss. University of Washington 1971, pp. 26–33.

<sup>28</sup> A suggestion made by A. Rehm ("Zu Aristot. 'Αθ. π. c. 47.48," *Philologus* 86, 1930–1931 [pp. 118–122], pp. 118–119) for juxtaposing clauses within *Ath. Pol.* 47.2 would result in the mention of whitened tablets with mine leases. I choose, however, to follow Rhodes (*Commentary*, p. 553) and keep the word order of the papyrus.

<sup>29</sup> These letter combinations are discussed by Margaret Thompson in "Workshops or Mines," *ANSMN* 5, 1952, pp. 35–48, of which the discussion in her *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, New York 1971, pp. 613–622, is in essence a summary. The choice of a high or low chronology for the beginning of the New Style coinage does not affect the argument to which it is being applied here.

same stele, but it seems likely that this was normally the case. Occasionally, as with **P1** and **P2** and probably **P4**, one or more stelai were devoted to a single subject, but whenever possible the poletai seem to have included sales and leases all on one stone. The disappointingly meager group of partially preserved headings are of no help in substantiating this statement, and they might even seem to contradict it. Thus the headings of **P20** and **P50** announce only mining leases. But since leases and sales were always grouped separately, it is quite possible that these two inscriptions also contained records of sales listed with their own headings after the mining leases. **P5** provides a good example of this, with mining leases given a separate introductory statement in line 40.

Sometimes the stele is opisthographic (**P10**, **P20**, **P24–P26**, and **P53**), but more often, at least with stelai preserving both front and original back, only the front face is inscribed: **P4–P7**, **P13**, **P14**, **P16**, **P17**, **P19**, **P30**, **P34**, possibly **P39**, **P40**, **P45**, **P47**, **P49**, **P51**, and **P52**. Only once is a lateral face used (**P43**), in contrast to the 20 other fragments which preserve part of an uninscribed lateral face: **P3–P7**, **P9**, **P17**, **P20**, **P21**, **P24**, **P26**, **P32**, **P34**, **P35**, **P38**, **P40**, **P42**, **P52**, **P53**, **P55**. The inscriptions are too fragmentary to allow much to be said concerning the layout of the text on the stone. **P4** and **P5** are the only certain examples of single-columned stelai, while **P13**, **P18–P20**, **P26–P31**, and **P49** preserve two columns or more. The latter group belongs mainly to the decade 350–340 and reveals the large number of leases being granted for mines then. Toward the end of the century, when mine workings were slackening off, the stelai of the poletai may normally have contained just one column of text taking up the entire width of the stone, but no examples preserve such evidence. It is doubtful in any case that in periods with few mining leases records of sales of confiscated properties alone would have required much more than one column in an average year.

## CONTRACTS AND TAXES

The involvement of the poletai in the letting of contracts and farming out of taxes is attested in a number of inscriptions, but actual poletai records of these matters seem never to have been inscribed on stone, presumably because such factors as motivated the publication of sales and leases, as discussed above, were absent. A brief review of the epigraphical data referring to the poletai will help to illustrate their other duties.

It is in connection with the letting out of public contracts that the poletai are most frequently mentioned in inscriptions. The publication of state decrees especially involved the poletai, at least in the 5th century. By 450 a standard publication formula had been established for public decrees: τὸ δὲ φσέφισμα ἀναγράψαι ἐστέλει λιθίνει τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βολῆς· οἱ δὲ πολεταὶ ἀπομισθοσάντων τὲν στέλεν· οἱ δὲ κολακρέται δόντων τὸ ἀργύριον. The poletai were to contract with a mason to fashion a stele of the right shape and dimensions and a letter cutter to inscribe the text. The marble itself did not require purchase because the state owned the Pentelic and Hymettian quarries which furnished the stone from which stelai were made.<sup>30</sup>

*IG I*<sup>3</sup>, 23, line 11, of 447/6, is the earliest preserved example of the poletai in the publication formula, although the probable restoration in *IG I*<sup>3</sup>, 7, line 6 and the almost certain restoration in *IG I*<sup>3</sup>, 11, lines 12–13 fit these inscriptions into it a few years earlier, around mid-century. The other inscriptions which preserve mention of the poletai in the publication formula date throughout the second half of the 5th century: *IG I*<sup>3</sup>, 71, line 25; 78, line 51; 104, line 8; 136, line 39; 153, lines 22–23; 195, line 4; *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 4, line 3; and 5, line 13. Enough of the formula is preserved so that the poletai may be restored with varying degrees of certainty in *SEG X*, 86, line 40 (= *IG I*<sup>3</sup>, 89, line 47, where restoration of the poletai is deleted); *SEG XXVI*, 21, lines 26–27 (= *IG I*<sup>3</sup>, 182, line 32, again with restoration of the poletai deleted); *IG I*<sup>3</sup>, 68, line 57; 102, line 35; 130, line 22; 149, line 2; 159, line 15; 180, line 4 (*sic*); 193, line 4; and 200, line 3. *IG I*<sup>3</sup>, 72, lines 31–32 and 164, lines 33–34 (*sic*) were once restored with mention of the poletai, but these restorations have now been

<sup>30</sup> The absence of purchase transactions for marble in any public building account of Athens forces this conclusion. It is one which seems to be generally accepted (cf., e.g., *RE IIIA*, ii, 1929, *s.v.* Steinbruch [cols. 2241–2293], col. 2278 [K. Fiehn]) but not explicitly acknowledged by those who discuss these accounts. A welcome exception is A. Burford in her discussion of the Parthenon accounts: "The Builders of the Parthenon," *GaR*, Suppl. to vol. 10, 1963 (pp. 23–34), p. 32. Promoting the other side, F. von Straten ("Did the Greeks Kneel before Their Gods?" *BABesch* 49, 1974 [pp. 159–189], pp. 184–186) argues, on no very strong evidence, that the stone for inscribed stelai was purchased.



discredited.<sup>31</sup> In other inscriptions, such as *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 80, lines 16–20; 84, lines 26–28; and 110, lines 20–24, of 421/0, 418/7, and 408/7 respectively, the provisions for publication are fully preserved, but the poletai are not mentioned. These are, no doubt, examples of abbreviated expression. The poletai must have let the appropriate contracts, but the fact is not stated.

The latest example of the poletai in a publication formula uses a different wording. The inscription is a law on silver coinage of 375/4, which was found in the Agora and published in exemplary fashion by R. S. Stroud.<sup>32</sup> Stroud comments on the uniqueness of the wording of part of the publication formula, and that part deserves to be quoted. After the Boule orders that two copies of the law be inscribed and erected, then *ὁ δὲ γραμματε[ὺ]ς [ὁ] τῆς βολῆς παραγγελάτω μίσθωμα τοῖς πωλ[ηταῖς]. | οἱ δὲ πωληταὶ ἐσενεγκόντων ἐς τὴν βολήν* (lines 47–49). The familiar *ἀπομισθωσάντων* is missing here, but in my opinion this can be explained as another example of abbreviated phraseology. The poletai are not instructed to let the contract for the stelai, but they are ordered to bring it before the Boule for ratification. This must be the meaning of *ἐσενεγκόντων*.<sup>33</sup> The secretary of the Boule, meanwhile, was to order the two stelai from the poletai.<sup>34</sup> Why a different wording was used here is not known, but the procedure seems to be basically no different from that set forth in the normal formula of the 5th century.

With the exception of the law on coinage all known inscriptions which include the poletai in the publication formula belong to the 5th century. After 400 the normal formula no longer mentions them. The kolakretai also disappear from the formula after 400, and their place is taken by other officials or at times a special fund. Who took the place of the poletai, if in fact they were replaced, is not revealed. One possible explanation for their absence could be that with the proliferation of inscribed stelai in the 4th and subsequent centuries, a pool of masons was maintained by the state so that when publication of a document was required, the necessary workmen could be provided without the letting of a contract. New evidence, however, generated by S. V. Tracy's study of one letter cutter of the second half of the 2nd century B.C., does not lend support to this possibility.<sup>35</sup> Tracy has shown that in the 2nd century there was a small group of skilled cutters in Athens who operated from private shops and in competition with one another. Although this evidence is from a later period, it doubtlessly reflects the normal practice in Classical and Hellenistic Athens of contracting for public work no matter how small the job. To my mind it is as easy to maintain that the poletai were not replaced as contractors for stelai after 400. Their absence from virtually all publication formulas of the 4th century and later need mean no more than that the formulas were no longer so detailed as before. One obvious fact, the contracting for the stele by the poletai, was no longer stated. We have seen above that several 5th-century versions of the formula omitted the poletai, probably owing to abbreviation, and so their absence from later, less detailed formulas does not provide any basis for arguing that the poletai were no longer involved in the publication of inscriptions. The coinage law associates them with publication in 375/4, but there is no subsequent evidence to indicate when they might have relinquished their responsibilities for contracting with masons for stelai and lettering.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 72 was restored by B. D. Meritt ("Attic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century," *Hesperia* 14, 1945 [pp. 61–133], pp. 106–115). A new text, rejecting the restoration of the poletai, is given by D. Bradeen and M. McGregor (*Studies in Fifth-Century Attic Epigraphy*, Norman, Oklahoma 1973, pp. 88–89). *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 164 was restored with mention of the poletai by A. Wilhelm (*SBWien*, 1939 [= *Attische Urkunden* IV], p. 33), but this was shown to be incorrect by Meritt ("Notes on Attic Decrees," *Hesperia* 10, 1941 [pp. 301–337], pp. 330–331).

<sup>32</sup> "An Athenian Law on Silver Coinage," *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 157–188.

<sup>33</sup> Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 47.4–5) uses *εἰσφέρειν* in exactly the same way in referring to lease records brought before the Boule. Stroud ([footnote 32 above] pp. 183–184) appears to equate *ἀπομισθωσάντων* and *ἐσενεγκόντων*, but I do not believe that this is possible. They refer to separate and distinct actions, although the latter term does imply the former.

<sup>34</sup> Thus I follow Stroud in his commentary to lines 47–49 (*loc. cit.*), where *μίσθωμα* is taken as "contract", but not in his translation (p. 160), where it is rendered "price". The secretary of the Boule would not know the price of the contract before the poletai had let it.

<sup>35</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. XV, esp. pp. 85–86, 120, 122.

<sup>36</sup> After writing these lines I find that my conclusions about the publication duties of the poletai drawn from the coinage law have already been enunciated by A. S. Henry ("Polis/acropolis, Paymasters and the Ten Talent Fund," *Chiron* 12, 1982 [pp. 91–118], p. 103, note 34). Henry continues his survey into the 3rd century in "Athenian Financial Officials after 303 B.C.," *Chiron* 14, 1984, pp. 49–92; cf. especially p. 52, note 14 where one may infer his belief that the work on publication of state documents by the poletai had passed to other financial officers by the latter part of the 4th century.

The circumstances in which the poletai occur in all other Attic inscriptions are not such as to cause surprise but are entirely consistent with Aristotle's account of their contracting and leasing duties. *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 35, line 8 records the earliest known contract let by the poletai for a public work, for a door to the *hieron* of Athena Nike on the Akropolis shortly after 450 B.C. Contracts were also let by the poletai in *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 45, lines 10–11, for some work of Kallikrates; in *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84, lines 5–6, for an enclosure of the sanctuary of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile; in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 204, lines 66–67, for stone markers around the Sacred Orgas.<sup>37</sup> In *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 463, line 36, they are associated with ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει in contracting for work on the city walls. The context in which they occur in *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 129, line 2 is not clear but probably also involved a contractual operation.<sup>38</sup> Finally, an inscription should be mentioned which is not yet fully published but which provides the latest preserved instance of the poletai letting a contract. The inscription was found at Brauron and dates to the 3rd century B.C. It calls for the inspection and repair of various buildings in the sanctuary of Artemis. The poletai are mentioned apparently in a context which orders them to let contracts for the repair work.<sup>39</sup>

No inscription preserves mention of the poletai in connection with the leasing of a plot of state-owned land, but D. M. Lewis provides an example in his convincing restoration of a fragment of *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 334, which charges them with leasing an Athenian plot called Nea.<sup>40</sup> There is no indication that this is sacred land. Rather, Nea is ordinary cultivable land newly acquired by the Athenians.<sup>41</sup>

With regard to the leasing of state-owned sacred land the situation is wholly different. The poletai must be denied a role in such leases, even though one is sometimes ascribed to them. We have seen that Aristotle discusses the duties of the poletai in *Ath. Pol.* 47.2–3. In 47.4 he continues: εἰσφέρει δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς μισθώσεις τῶν τεμενῶν ἀναγράφας ἐν γραμματείοις λελευκωμένοις. The rest of the chapter specifies time limits and defines procedures. It is held by some<sup>42</sup> that Aristotle's discussion of the poletai carries over into 47.4 and that he is saying that the Basileus brings before the Boule the leases of sacred properties made by the poletai. My reading of the Greek leads to a different conclusion. Aristotle ceases to write about the poletai after 47.3, and in 47.4 he goes on to a new subject, the leasing of temene. The break and change of subject are clear. 47.4 is introduced by δὲ καί, a frequent indication of a new paragraph in this piece of writing, and it is not concerned with the poletai. The Basileus, the official who oversees the religious affairs of Athens, brings forth the leases of sacred properties because he is the one who leases them.

A survey of the epigraphical evidence for the leasing of temene confirms, I believe, this interpretation of Aristotle, even though it is an inscription, *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84, of 418/7 B.C., that has led scholars to accord the duty of leasing sacred properties to the poletai. This inscription concerns the leasing of the temenos of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile. Lines 11–12 read: . . . ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μ[ι]σθοσάτο καὶ οἱ πολεταὶ τὸ τέμενος τῷ Νελέος καὶ τῆς Βασίλεως κα[τὰ] τὰς χσυνγραφὰς εἴκοσι ἔτε. The poletai would thus seem to be included in the leasing action. These lines, however, are introductory to a long rider. The main decree occupies only the first ten lines of the inscription, and in it the responsibilities of the Basileus and the poletai are clearly distinguished: ἔρχομαι τὸ ἱερὸν τῷ Κόδρῳ καὶ Νελέος καὶ τῆς Βασίλεως κ[α] μισθῶσαι τὸ τέμενος κατὰ τὰς συνγραφὰς. οἱ δὲ πολεταὶ τὴν ἔρχομαι|ν ἀπομισθοσάντων. τὸ δὲ τέμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπομισθοσάτο κατὰ

<sup>37</sup> Rhodes ([footnote 5 above, p. 58] pp. 27–28) has pointed out that the restoration of the poletai in line 68 of this inscription places them in a context inappropriate to their functions. Cf. p. 5 above.

<sup>38</sup> In his latest text of this inscription (*Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément*, Paris 1962, p. 24, no. 7), F. Sokolowski has wisely deleted the restorations of his earlier version ("A New *Lex Sacra* from Athens," *TAPA* 90, 1959 [pp. 253–255], p. 255), in which the poletai were assigned the unparalleled task of leasing charges for wood and other items used at a sacrifice. Such charges would more logically be handled by officials of the cult concerned.

<sup>39</sup> The inscription was found by J. Papadimitriou and announced in "Εργον 1961 [1963], pp. 24–26. A photograph of the inscription, but no text, was published by Papadimitriou ("The Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron," *Scientific American*, June, 1963 [pp. 111–120], p. 118). For further bibliography see T. Linders, *The Treasurers of the Other Gods in Athens and their Functions*, Meisenheim am Glan 1975, p. 102, note 163.

<sup>40</sup> "Law on the Lesser Panathenaia," *Hesperia* 28, 1959, pp. 239–247 (= *SEG* XVIII, 13).

<sup>41</sup> The character of Nea is treated by L. Robert, "Sur une loi d'Athènes relative aux Petites Panathénées," *Hellenica* XI–XII, Paris 1960, pp. 191–194. Robert believed that Nea was part of Oropos, while I urge a different location in "An Attic Decree Concerning Oropos," *Hesperia* 56, 1987 (pp. 47–58), pp. 55–57. Robert's placement of Nea is retained by Walbank for L7 (pp. 184–186 below), his re-edition of *SEG* XVIII, 13.

<sup>42</sup> For example, G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde* II, Munich 1926, p. 1141; Rhodes, *Commentary*, p. 556.

[τ]|*ἄς χσυνγραφάς* . . . (lines 4–7). The statement in the rider should not be taken to show that the poletai had a hand in the leasing of the temenos. They are mentioned there because their action, like that of the Basileus, is done *κατὰ τὰς χσυνγραφάς*. Throughout the rest of the rider the Basileus is regarded as the sole agent responsible for the lease of the temenos.<sup>43</sup>

To the evidence of this inscription may be added the unambiguous statements in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 204 in which, as we have seen, the poletai are instructed to let a contract for boundary markers of the Orgas (lines 66–67). As for the renting of the Orgas, a piece of sacred land, the Basileus alone is to be responsible (lines 24–26). Thus, what epigraphical evidence there is appears to bear out the interpretation of *Ath. Pol.* 47.4 that the Basileus acted without the poletai in leasing state-owned sacred properties, although the opposite view is taken by Walbank, pp. 149–169 below, *passim*.

The sale by the poletai of the privilege of collecting state taxes<sup>44</sup> is found in three inscriptions. In *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 130, line 6, they sell the right to collect a one-drachma levy on shipowners in Peiraieus. In the fragment of *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 334 discussed above, *SEG* XVIII, 13, line 12, the poletai are correctly restored as selling the right to collect the *πεντηκοστή*. Finally, in *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 136, Ferguson has surely come close to the correct text in his restoration, made *exempli gratia*, which connects the poletai with the collection of the two-drachma tax of Bendis.<sup>45</sup> A further inscription, **P26**, and ancient literary sources name several other taxes, all of which were probably farmed out in the usual way, although the poletai are not specifically mentioned in association with them.<sup>46</sup>

Ancient sources do mention the poletai in association with one of the most important taxes in Athens, the *μετοίκιον*,<sup>47</sup> not as lessors of the tax, which they surely were, but as sellers of metics who defaulted in paying it. These passages have generated much discussion.<sup>48</sup> The main issues are whether or not a legal process, an *ἀπαγωγή πρὸς τοὺς πωλητάς*, was undertaken in cases of metics who defaulted, and where the business involving the metic's tax took place. As for the location, Aristotle tells us that taxes were let in the presence of the Boule, i.e. at the Bouleuterion, so the *μετοίκιον* would have been let there. It is most probable that the tax was paid at the Poleterion, which will be discussed shortly, and that official records of the tax status of metics were kept there. On the legal question, any attempt to involve the poletai as judges in a specific legal process must be opposed. There is no evidence that the poletai were endowed with any judicial powers. They must have frequently been called upon by courts to provide evidence in financial cases, but they themselves never adjudicated them.

## THE POLETERION

The poletai had their own office, the Poleterion. Here they discharged their clerical duties and received various payments from sales and leases for which they were responsible. The sales and leases themselves

<sup>43</sup> Although he does not specifically discuss the problem of the poletai in this inscription, Behrend (*Attische Pachturkunden*) views their activities in it in the same way that I do: cf. pp. 55–61, especially his schematic portrayal of the inscription's business, pp. 56–57. In "Leases of Sacred Properties in Attica, Part IV," *Hesperia* 52, 1983 (pp. 207–231), p. 221, note 92, M. B. Walbank argues against my interpretation of the role of the poletai in *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84 but looks favorably upon my reading of *Ath. Pol.* 47.3–4. He believes that a change of duties occurred between the time of the inscription and *Ath. Pol.*, so that in the 5th century the poletai were responsible for the leasing of temene, while by the latter 4th century they had been relieved of this duty. Such a change of duties is not out of the question and must be considered a possibility. I would, however, expect Aristotle to have noted the change as he does in other instances where similar administrative changes have occurred through time. Rhodes (*Commentary*, p. 34, note 178) lists passages in *Ath. Pol.* where differences between past and current practices are noted.

<sup>44</sup> For a good account of the farming out of taxes in the Greco-Roman world see H. C. Youtie, "Publicans and Sinners," *ZPE* 1, 1967, pp. 1–20, esp. pp. 8–9 for Athens.

<sup>45</sup> See "Orgeonika," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII (pp. 130–163), pp. 142–143.

<sup>46</sup> **P26**, lines 474–475, a five-drachmai tax on the mines; lines 479–480, a five-drachmai tax for Theseus; lines 487–488, a [one-drachma] tax for Asklepios. For the literary sources see Andreades (footnote 10 above, p. 59), pp. 277–285 for direct taxes and pp. 294–299 for indirect taxes.

<sup>47</sup> Demosthenes, 25.57 (*Against Aristogeiton I*); Pollux, 8.99.

<sup>48</sup> The most recent is D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic*, Cambridge 1977, pp. 76–77, where bibliography can be found, but the best is still M. Clerc, *Les mètèques athéniens*, Paris 1893, pp. 15–20.

were transacted not at their office but at the Bouleuterion, because the poletai merely acted as agents of the Boule in these actions. Aristotle's account makes this clear; I believe that it applies to all sales and leases, and so in my translation I follow those who give an instrumental rather than a locative force to ἐν in the phrase ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ<sup>49</sup> toward the end of *Ath. Pol.* 47.3, where land and houses which have been acquired by the state as the result of convictions on major charges are the issue. This interpretation suits the general context of the passage, which places the activities of the poletai in close conjunction with the Boule. Unfortunately, the epigraphical and literary sources are ambiguous on this point. In P5, lines 1–39, for example, Theosebes was found guilty of sacrilege, and his property was confiscated. After private claims had been considered and those found valid subtracted, the Eleven turned the remaining goods over to the poletai for sale. Similar procedures are outlined in Aristotle's account of the role of the Eleven in cases involving robbers, kidnappers, and footpads: . . . τοὺς ἀπαγομένους κλέπτας καὶ τοὺς ἀνδραποδιστὰς καὶ τοὺς λωποδύτας, ἂν μὲν ὁμολογῶσι, θανάτῳ ζημιῶσιν, ἂν δ' ἀμφισβητῶσιν, εἰσάξοντας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, κἂν μὲν ἀποφύγῳσιν, ἀφήσοντας, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τότε θανατώσοντας, καὶ τὰ ἀπογραφόμενα χωρία καὶ οἰκίας εἰσάξοντας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ τὰ δόξαντα δημόσια εἶναι παραδώσοντας τοῖς πωληταῖς, καὶ τὰς ἐνδείξεις εἰσάξοντας (*Ath. Pol.* 52.1). Although the place where confiscated properties were sold is not specified in either case, I believe that it is preferable to conclude that sales did not take place in the lawcourts. What took place in the courts was the decision to condemn and confiscate. From there the Eleven conveyed confiscated goods to the poletai who then sold them at the Bouleuterion in the presence of the Boule. The poletai then made records of these sales and kept them in their office.

Literary sources suggest that the Poleterion was located in the Agora.<sup>50</sup> The fact that the poletai worked closely with the Boule reinforces this suggestion and prompts us to look for the Poleterion in the southwestern part of the Agora, somewhere near the New Bouleuterion. Suitable architectural remains for magistrates' offices exist in this area, e.g., the so-called Strategeion and the structures across the street from it, South Stoa I, and the Old Bouleuterion.<sup>51</sup> The first and latter two of these buildings were not ready to provide office space until the second half of the 5th century, while the poletai needed an office much earlier, since they were a functioning board from early in the 6th century (see below, pp. 67–69). This leaves the structures across the street from the so-called Strategeion as the most suitable location for the Poleterion. These modest constructions were built and re-built over a period extending from the 6th to the 4th centuries, and they continued to exist until they were demolished to make way for the Middle Stoa in the 2nd century. Thus they offer the only space available for offices during most of the period in which the poletai functioned. We may tentatively place the Poleterion among them.<sup>52</sup>

It might seem logical that the poletai would have set up their inscribed accounts at their office and that the finding places of fragments belonging to them would indicate where that office was. The majority of poletai fragments were found in the area covered by grid squares F–I/11–15 (see Plan),<sup>53</sup> which encompasses the

<sup>49</sup> Harrison (*The Law of Athens: Procedure*, p. 178, note 2) names and tacitly supports several scholars who translate the phrase as I do. The main proponent of a locative translation, with poletai sales and leases taking place in the lawcourts, is Finley (pp. 41–42, 237, note 20). Finley cites two examples of leases made in Athenian courts, a μίσθωσις οἴκου involving the archon (Isaios, 6 [*On the Estate of Philoktemon*]) and leases for work directed by a board of epistatai (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1669, lines 18 and 21). Neither example has any relevance to the activities of the poletai. Rhodes does not discuss the phrase in his commentary on the *Ath. Pol.*, but in his recently published translation, *Aristotle: The Athenian Constitution*, New York/London 1984, p. 93, he renders it instrumentally.

<sup>50</sup> These references are collected by Wycherley, *Agora III*, nos. 537–540, p. 165.

<sup>51</sup> The Poros Building was once considered among the possible sites of the Poleterion (R. S. Young, "An Industrial District of Ancient Athens," *Hesperia* 20, 1951 [pp. 135–288], p. 187), but the recent and plausible identification of that building as the state prison renders this suggestion untenable: see E. Vanderpool, "The State Prison of Ancient Athens," in *From Athens to Gordion: The Papers of a Symposium for Rodney S. Young*, University Museum Papers 1, Philadelphia 1980, pp. 17–31.

<sup>52</sup> This is also where Homer Thompson suggests locating the Poleterion, cf. *Agora Guide*<sup>3</sup>, p. 58. Convenient summaries and further bibliography on the buildings discussed in this section may be found in *Agora XIV*, pp. 29–38 (Old Bouleuterion), p. 73 ("Strategeion"), p. 74 (buildings across the street from the "Strategeion"), pp. 74–78 (South Stoa I).

A monument which presumably stood near the Poleterion is the only poletai dedication we have, a small marble statue base dedicated by two poletai in 324/3: cf. P. A. Pantos, «Ἐπιγραφικαὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν Ἀθηναίων», *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1973 (pp. 175–188), pp. 175–176, no. 1. The base was found to the north of the Agora in Agia Thekla Street and in a modern context, and so it is no help in determining the location of the Poleterion.

<sup>53</sup> Of the 93 poletai fragments found in the general area of the Agora (grid squares F–R/2–16), 70 come from the southwest corner. My figures, which do not include the fragments of P1, are higher than those of Crosby (*Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 191, note 6),

proposed site of the Poleterion, and so some slight corroboration regarding the location of this office might be indicated, even at the risk of circular reasoning. Yet the concentration was thickest right around the Tholos, especially to the north in grid squares F–H 11. Here is the court of the New Bouleuterion, an open space intended primarily for members of the Boule. But since the poletai transacted sales and leases at the Bouleuterion and the Boule confirmed and was ultimately responsible for them, it would also have been fitting for the poletai accounts to be set up here.<sup>54</sup> Alternatively, we might explain the finding of numerous fragments of poletai stelai around the New Bouleuterion by arguing that the Poleterion and the setting place of the stelai were proximate and by placing the poletai office within the Old Bouleuterion after a transfer from elsewhere in the latter 5th century, when completion of the New Bouleuterion freed the older building for other uses. This has certain attractions but is less economical than the views favored above that the Poleterion was always just outside the southwest corner of the Agora while the poletai stelai were set up near the Bouleuterion.

Whatever be the true relationship between stelai of the poletai and their office, the later history of the stelai may be reconstructed from the contexts in which some fragments were found. **P5** and **PA1** (which may belong to a poletai inscription) come from contexts of the late 4th to early 3rd centuries and were probably thrown down in the disturbances which are documented for the southwest corner of the Agora at this time.<sup>55</sup> Several stelai were toppled or damaged in the sack of 86 B.C.: part of **P17** and **P31**, which were found in late Hellenistic contexts, and parts of **P20**, **P26**, and **P53**, from the early Roman screen wall around the court of the New Bouleuterion. **P9** and **P18** seem to have stood until the 2nd century after Christ when they were taken down for reinscription. The Herulian sack of A.D. 267 should account for the destruction of most of the rest, although no certain fragment of a poletai inscription was used in the post-Herulian wall (only **PA5** comes from this wall). Instead, quite a number were available for re-use in Late Roman times: part or all of **P11**, **P13**, **P18**, **P19**, **P23**, **P26**, **P27**, **P34**, **P36**, **P50**, **P54**, **P55**, and **P56**. This suggests that a number of stelai remained standing in their original position well on into the Roman period, although we are not to believe that they survived intact all this time. As successive despoliations visited the Agora, the forest of stelai, poletai and others, in the southwest corner became progressively depleted. Those stelai that did survive suffered damage with each new onslaught, so that finally little more than a random collection of stumps remained. **P26**, a large stele, seems to reflect such a sequence. Part of it (**P26 b**) was broken off in 86 B.C., while another part (**P26 e**) was apparently not removed until centuries later. A similar history of fragmentation could probably be written for the other stelai of which pieces were re-used in later Roman times.

## HISTORY OF THE POLETAI

We know of the existence of the poletai before the 5th century only through Aristotle's statement (*Ath. Pol.* 7.3) that they were functioning in the time of Solon. Most scholars have accepted this, and only a few have dissented or are noncommittal.<sup>56</sup> Even in the face of this near unanimity, however, it is worthwhile to reconsider the early history of the poletai and to ask what their duties might have been if they did constitute a magistracy in the early 6th century.

Those who deny the existence of the poletai as early as Solon find it difficult to envision their function in a state as yet unencumbered with the economic and financial complexities that were present in 5th- and 4th-

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who counted only mining leases. Not many poletai inscriptions were removed far from the Agora: one ended up in the Kerameikos (**P14**), part of one was found near the Tower of the Winds (fragment *a* of **P40**), one came from the Akropolis (**P15**), and one from the south slope (**P21**).

<sup>54</sup> This is the same conclusion arrived at by Crosby (*op. cit.*, p. 191). In my opinion this conclusion does nothing to weaken the picture of this court drawn by H. A. Thompson ("Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," *Hesperia* 6, 1937 [pp. 1–226], pp. 167–171 and *Agora* XIV, p. 33) as a secluded area not favored with many monuments. The poletai stelai would not have been obtrusive, and the number of people who might wish to consult them would always have been comparatively small.

<sup>55</sup> Most recently on this cf. Stella G. Miller, "Menon's Cistern," *Hesperia* 43, 1974 (pp. 194–245), pp. 209–210, with bibliography.

<sup>56</sup> Notable among the dissenters are K. J. Beloch (*Griechische Geschichte* I, Strasbourg 1913, p. 320) and G. de Sanctis (ATΘΙΣ, Turin 1912, p. 249). U. Kahrstedt (*Untersuchungen zur Magistratur in Athen*, Stuttgart 1936) does not commit himself, nor does C. Hignett (*A History of the Athenian Constitution*, Oxford 1952), who does not even mention the poletai.

century Athens. Indeed, on the basis of what we know, it would be unwise to argue for an officially recognized class of metics in Solonian Athens who were subject to a *metoikion* or sale into slavery by the poletai if they defaulted. It is equally risky to attempt to find evidence for contracts let for public works in the early 6th century. Civic projects there were, on the Akropolis, at the site of the new Agora, and just a bit later along the course of the city's first enceinte, but it would be a surmise, backed up by no evidence, that these works were carried out under contracts let by the poletai. A similar dearth of evidence prohibits us from extending back to Solon the institution of tax-farming and the sale by the poletai of the right to collect taxes. Lastly, a well-known incident involving the Laurion mines leads us to the conclusion that the poletai did not lease mines in the 6th century. From Herodotos (7.144) and Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 22.7) we learn that early in the 5th century the Athenian state accumulated a large surplus of revenue from the mines, especially from the bonanza struck at Maroneia in 483. We read nothing about leases, nor does this accumulation of mining wealth by the state appear to have been anything out of the ordinary. This information suggests a different form of administration of the mines at this time, and presumably earlier, than in the 4th and probably the latter 5th century, a form in which leases and the poletai played no part.

Two possible duties remain for Solonian poletai, the leasing of public lands and the sale of properties confiscated by the state. That public lands were leased in the Archaic period can be inferred from a statement of Photios (*s.v. ναύκραροι*) that the naukraroi let such leases. These were ancient functionaries of Athens, already active in the time of Kylon. They were principally financial officers, but in the Solonian constitution they managed only the naukraric fund and had no wider financial responsibilities.<sup>57</sup> When the board of poletai was created, the major financial duties of the naukraroi passed to it. That this resulted from legislation enacted by Solon seems a reasonable conclusion to draw from the evidence that is available.<sup>58</sup>

The situation with regard to confiscated properties is less clear. The earliest attested confiscation in Athens took place during one of the exiles of Peisistratos, when his property was sold (Herodotos, 6.121.2). For the time of Solon we have no information, but the stele with the republication of Drakon's homicide laws, *IG I<sup>3</sup>*, 104, provides us with some clues. This inscription reveals that the Athenians of the late 5th century still obeyed certain laws which were codified in the 7th century.<sup>59</sup> Confiscations of property are not mentioned, but this is probably because the only part of the law which is preserved is the section on involuntary homicide, in which, in later times at any rate, the guilty party was allowed to retain his possessions. Demosthenes, 21.43 (*Against Meidias*) is an accurate statement of that law. Yet in the same passage it is also stated that voluntary homicides did lose their property. If Drakon's law on voluntary homicide had been preserved on the stele, it is very likely, in my opinion, that the punishments which it specified would correspond to those set forth in *Against Meidias*, death or exile and confiscation of property. Scholars are reluctant to accept this proposal because of lack of evidence,<sup>60</sup> but since many lacunae in *IG I<sup>3</sup>*, 104 can be successfully filled by consulting passages of Demosthenes, we may feel some confidence that a reconstruction of Drakontian laws on voluntary homicide using the same passages is equally valid. We may thus tentatively

<sup>57</sup> Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 8.3. On the naukraroi see B. Jordan, "Herodotos 5.71.2 and the Naukraroi of Athens," *CSCA* 3, 1970, pp. 153–175, esp. pp. 158–160 for speculation about their financial duties; also *idem*, *Servants of the Gods, Hypomnemata* 55, Göttingen 1979, pp. 56–62, where Jordan places himself in the group of those who doubt the existence of Solonian poletai. Despite this I find his discussion congenial to my reconstruction of the relationship between the naukraroi, the poletai, and the Solonian constitution, and at the end of his remarks Jordan admits a willingness to accept that a division of labor among financial boards began with Solon. A more recent attempt to place the origin of the Athenian naukraroi in the Bronze Age (J.-C. Billigmeier and A. S. Dusing, "The Origin and Function of the Naukraroi at Athens: An Etymological and Historical Explanation," *TAPA* 111, 1981, pp. 11–16) will probably attract few adherents.

<sup>58</sup> The same conclusion is independently reached by Walbank, pp. 149–150 below. For a recent, general treatment of leasing in ancient Greece, see Osborne, "Social and Economic Implications," esp. pp. 281–292 for public leases in Athens.

<sup>59</sup> This point is argued convincingly by R. S. Stroud in his monograph on the inscription, *Drakon's Law on Homicide*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1968, pp. 60–64.

<sup>60</sup> A good example is E. Ruschenbusch (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des athenischen Strafrechts*, Cologne 1968, pp. 11–15), who does not recognize confiscation as a form of punishment in the time of Solon. The issue of confiscation is not considered in the recent treatment of Drakon's law on homicide by M. Gagarin, *Drakon and Early Athenian Homicide Law*, New Haven/London 1981. Much of Gagarin's argumentation is forced and very tenuous and in the case of *IG I<sup>3</sup>*, 104 offers at best only a weak alternative to Stroud's interpretation.

conclude that property was being confiscated from voluntary homicides in Solon's time. If this is correct, then there was definitely a need for a board of poletai in the early 6th century, since the state would want to sell most of the goods it acquired in this manner.

The very title of this board of magistrates lends support, I believe, to the conclusion that they were functioning in the time of Solon and even before. Why are they called *πωληταί*? They did conduct sales, but they made leases and let contracts as well. Thus, *μισθωταί* would not have been an inappropriate name for them.<sup>61</sup> Their title must have something to do with their original function. In the 4th century, as we have seen, they were first of all sellers who accepted cash in exchange for goods or privileges. The verbs *ἀποδίδωμι* and *πέρνημι* consistently occur in literary and epigraphical sources to describe their transactions. Previous to the Solonian era, before money was in widespread use in Attica,<sup>62</sup> sales took the form of barter in kind. The verb *πωλέω* originally meant "barter",<sup>63</sup> and this must reflect the basic nature of the early poletai. They made sales and leases by bartering for adequate payment in kind. Thus we should accept the mention of Solonian poletai by Aristotle as fact. We do not know their number at this time, but they were probably not a board of ten until the Kleisthenic reorganization was instituted.

If the early history of the poletai may be said to rest on reasonably firm ground, their later history does not. That they were still active in the 3rd century is shown by **P52-P55** and the inscription mentioned above (p. 64) dealing with work in the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron. From the beginning of the 2nd century, besides **P56**, there is a fragmentary list of officials from the Agora which included the poletai.<sup>64</sup> Ferguson included them in the list of Athenian magistracies which he believed existed in the second half of the 2nd century.<sup>65</sup> There is no reason to doubt this, since we have their proven existence in the early part of the century, and there were no major constitutional changes until the end of the century. Furthermore, some tangential support for their inclusion in the list comes from the fact that praktores with Athenian demotics are named in a 2nd-century inscription from Imbros.<sup>66</sup> If this minor financial board could function so late, it is reasonable to believe that the poletai also continued to play a part in the financial bureaucracy of the government, whatever their exact duties may now have been. Thus the board of poletai probably continued to function until the constitutional changes of 103/2, or possibly even 86/5.

In the Roman era there is plenty of documentation for activities formerly managed by the poletai but now conducted by others. For example, in a document of Hadrianic date believed to deal with tax farming (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1104) it is stated that the argyrotamiai along with the herald were to sell the securities of (probably) tax-farmers who defaulted. Formerly such a sale would have been conducted by the poletai. In addition we know from Cassius Dio (69.16.2) that Hadrian enacted a law at Athens which forbade any member of the Boule from having a tax farmed out to himself. The Boule, not the poletai, now apparently directed the whole process of tax farming. Contemporary with these enactments, Hadrian's oil law (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1100) provided confiscations as penalties for certain infractions (e.g., lines 26, 29-30, 40-43). No officials are designated to sell the property obtained under this law, for it went directly into the fiscus instead. With their duties taken over by other officials in this new order of things the poletai had now become superfluous.

<sup>61</sup> I see no impediment to interpreting *μισθωτής* as "lessor", even though the word normally indicates the one who pays rent, the lessee. I can cite no ancient parallels for my interpretation, but I am simply extending the meaning of *μισθωτής* on the analogy of similar agent nouns in which the ending *-της* denotes an active rather than a passive participant; cf. C. D. Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, Chicago 1953, p. 336, no. 484.

<sup>62</sup> Uncoined drachma weights of silver were in use by the time of Solon (J. Kroll and N. Waggoner, "Dating the Earliest Coins of Athens, Corinth and Aegina," *AJA* 88, 1984 [pp. 325-340], pp. 332-333), but for most people the exercise of buying and selling in Archaic Athens was still based on the barter system. Kroll and Waggoner refute recent attempts to extend Athens' coinage back to Solon.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. F. Pringsheim, *The Greek Law of Sale*, Weimar 1950, p. 97; R. F. Willets, "*ᾠνεῖν* = *πωλεῖν*," *Kadmos* 4, 1965, pp. 165-168.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 37, 1968 (pp. 226-298), p. 286, no. 23 (= *SEG* XXI, 187).

<sup>65</sup> (Footnote 3 above, p. 58) p. 472.

<sup>66</sup> *IG XII* 8, 51. The date of this inscription should be the second half of the 2nd century B.C. when Athens once more had control of the island: cf. *RE* XXII, ii, 1954, s.v. *Πράκτωρ* (cols. 2538-2548), col. 2540 (H. Schaefer).

## CATALOGUE

### P1. Seventy-three fragments of Pentelic marble, comprising ten stelai.

Ed. A. Kirchhoff, *IG I*, 274–282; *IG I*, Supplement, p. 36, no. 279a, p. 73, nos. 277a, b; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG I*<sup>2</sup>, 325–334 (rejecting *IG I*, 279–282); W. K. Pritchett (“The Attic Stelai,” *Hesperia* 22, 1953, pp. 227–299, photographs pls. 67–84) added most of the next 54 fragments (I 236 a–g, i–z, I 845 a, b, I 2040, I 4408 a–k, I 5226) and arranged all pieces into the ten “Attic Stelai”; W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 30, 1961, pp. 23–29, photographs pls. 5, 6, five fragments (I 236 aa–dd, I 6881); B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 36, 1967, pp. 84–86, no. 16, photograph in R. Ross Holloway, *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pl. 30:e, one fragment (I 6991); J. McK. Camp II, *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 319–321, no. 2, photograph pl. 64:a, one fragment (I 7307); *SEG XIII*, 12–22; *XIX*, 23–25; *XXIV*, 46; D. M. Lewis, *IG I*<sup>3</sup>, 421–430. Cf. also Meiggs and Lewis, pp. 240–247, no. 79; W. K. Pritchett, “Two Illustrated Epigraphical Notes,” *AJA* 73, 1969 (pp. 367–370), pp. 367–368; D. M. Lewis, “After the Profanation of the Mysteries,” in *Ancient Society and Institutions, Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th Birthday*, Oxford 1966, pp. 177–191. Since the Attic Stelai have recently been re-edited as *IG I*<sup>3</sup>, 421–430, the texts are not published here.

The date of the Attic Stelai is 414/3 B.C. They record the sales of personal and real property of those men convicted of profaning the Eleusinian Mysteries and mutilating the Herms in the preceding year and are the earliest inscribed transactions of the poletai that have survived from antiquity. Lewis (*Studies Presented to V. Ehrenberg*, p. 183) once expressed some doubts about assigning these documents to the poletai, but he has since accepted them; cf. Meiggs and Lewis, *loc. cit.* Lewis’ doubts were, nevertheless, not without some foundation. A special board of inquiry was created to investigate the mutilation of the herms (Andokides, 1.40 [*On the Mysteries*]), and at least one trial connected with the profanation of the Mysteries took place before the extraordinary court of 6000 (Andokides, *ibid.*, 17). So it is possible that because of the serious nature of the matter a special board was appointed to handle confiscations and sales. Lewis is surely correct, however, in reasoning that because of the fragmentary nature of these stelai we do not rightly understand those items which do not seem appropriate for the poletai and an auction. Unless proof to the contrary is found, we should regard the Attic Stelai as documents of the poletai.

Since they record sales which were the result of gravely impious acts against Demeter and Kore, it was deemed appropriate to erect the Attic Stelai in the Athenian Eleusinion in order to show that the offenders had been duly punished. A number of fragments of the stelai were found southeast of the Agora, at the site of the Eleusinion, and a base of sufficient size to support them was found in the excavated part of the sanctuary; cf. *Agora XIV*, p. 153, with earlier bibliography. Only the uncovering of the entire temenos can demonstrate whether or not base and stelai actually go together.

We do not know if the Attic Stelai were pulled down when Alkibiades returned to Athens in 407. If there is an inclination to believe that they stood in their original position for a considerable time after the 5th century, it is based on no evidence other than the finding of many fragments of the stelai in late contexts.

Ancient authority for duplicate copies of the Attic Stelai at Eleusis and Athens (Pollux, 10.97) and for the Athenian set being on the Akropolis (Athenaios, 11.476e) has been sufficiently refuted; cf. Pritchett, *Hesperia* 22, 1953, pp. 234–235; A. Pippin, “The *Demoiprata* of Pollux X,” *Hesperia* 25, 1956 (pp. 318–328), pp. 324–325.

### P2. Nine fragments of Pentelic marble, comprising from three to six stelai.

*a, b, c*: Three joining fragments (I 6225 + 7202) preserving the top and smooth-picked back. Fragment *a* was found on July 26, 1949, in a modern house wall east of the Stoa of Attalos. The two joining fragments *b + c* were found on June 30, 1970, in a Byzantine context north of the Athens-Piraeus railway (J 5).

H. 0.38 m.; W. 0.492 m.; Th. 0.084–0.088 m.; L.H. line 1, 0.015 m.; line 2, 0.012–0.013 m.; line 3, 0.009–0.011 m.; lines 4–30, 0.006–0.008 m.



*d*: Fragment (E.M. 7956) preserving the left side and smooth-picked back, found in the area of the Stoa of Attalos. H. 0.30 m.; W. 0.325 m.; Th. 0.083–0.086 m.

*e*: Fragment (I 627 b) broken on all sides, found on November 17, 1937, in a modern house wall south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (O 18).

H. 0.16 m.; W. 0.168 m.; Th. 0.042 m.

*f, g*: Two non-joining fragments from the same stele (I 1092 and I 627 a). Fragment *f* preserves the left side and was found in January 1934, in a Roman wall between the Civic Offices and the Odeion (K 13). Fragment *g*, broken all around, was found on March 30, 1933, in a marble dump near the Tholos.

*f*: H. 0.165 m.; W. 0.148 m.; Th. 0.055 m.

*g*: H. 0.115 m.; W. 0.095 m.; Th. 0.042 m.

*h*: Fragment (I 1894) with the right side preserved, found in late fill in grid square K 14 on April 27, 1934.

H. 0.148 m.; W. 0.073 m.; Th. 0.032 m.

*i*: Fragment (I 1681) preserving the original top, found on March 26, 1934, in a late Roman context over the north part of the Tholos (G 11).

H. 0.049 m.; W. 0.073 m.; Th. 0.046 m.

Letter height on fragments *d–i*, 0.007–0.008 m.

*a, b, c*, lines 4–5, stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.012 m. and a vertical checker of 0.011 m.; lines 6–26, stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.044 m.; *d*, stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.012 m. and a vertical checker of 0.011 m.; *e*, lines 1–6 stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.010 m. and a vertical checker of 0.011 m.; lines 7–8, stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.011 m. and a vertical checker of 0.019 m.; lines 9–12, stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.015 m. and a vertical checker of 0.009 m.; *f, g*, lines 1–6, stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.013 m. and a vertical checker of 0.010 m.; lines 7–16, stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.011 m. and a vertical checker of 0.010 m.; *h*, stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.010 m. and a vertical checker of 0.013 m.; *i*, stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.010 m.

Ed. *a*: B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 30, 1961, pp. 243–244, no. 40, photograph pl. 43; *b, c*: M. B. Walbank, *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 75–76, photograph pl. 27:a; *d*: J. Kirchner, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1579; *e*: B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 181–184, no. 31, photograph p. 183; *f, g*: B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 5, 1936, pp. 390–393, no. 9, photograph p. 391; *h*: B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 16, 1947, p. 149, no. 38, photograph pl. 23; *i*: M. B. Walbank, *Hesperia* 51, 1982, p. 90, photograph pl. 28:a; *a–i*: *SEG* XXXII, 161. Photographs of all fragments, *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pls. 27–28. A new fragment is added to the series by Walbank, p. 204 below, **LA2**.

*a*. 402/1 *a*.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

<i>a, b, c</i>	Εὐθύμαχ[ο]ς ΑΛΚ[ -----ἐγραμμάτ]-	<i>ca.</i> 34
	ευε· ἐπὶ τῆς Α[ῖ]γῆδος ἐβ[δόμης] πρυτανείας· -----]	<i>ca.</i> 62
	[.]αι ἀπέδ[ον]το ἐπὶ [Μ]ίκωνος ἄρχοντος -----]	<i>ca.</i> 65
	[.]ατος Πλωθε[ιεύς] ἐγραμμά[τευε]· τῶν Τριάκοντα [ -----]	ΣΤΟΙΧ.
5	[πέ]ντε ἔτεσιν Η[. . .] τ[ῶ]ν ὀλι[. . . <sup>6</sup> . . .]ΤΟΜΜΕΡΟΣ[ -----]	
	<i>vacat</i>	

	Col. I	ΣΤΟΙΧ 25	Col. II	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 25
		[Μ]ένιππος Φαλ[ηρε]ὺς [ἀπ]έ[γραψεν]		Νεοτ[. . . . . <sup>21</sup> . . . . .]
		[Εὐ]μάθος Φαλη[ρέω]ς οἰκίας Φ[. . .]		
		[. . .]ι ἤμισυ ἦι [γ]είτωμ βορρά[θε]-		
	[---]	[ν Βοη]θός· νοτόθεν δὲ ΑΠΟΧΟΠΑΝ[.]		
10	[ἐπώ]	[. . .]πρίατο Νομήνιος Καλλίο [.]		
	[---]	[. . .]υς ἐγγυ <i>vacat</i>		
		[καταβολή] τὸ ἐνιαυτὸ ἐκάστο [.]		
		<i>vacat</i>		
		[. . . . . <sup>9</sup> . . . . .] Σφήττιος ἀπέγρ[αψε]		
		[. . . . . <sup>8</sup> . . . . .] Σφήττιο οἰκία[ν] κα[ι] [.]		

- 15 [ . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . ] ι ὦ[ι γεί]των νοτ[όθε]-  
 [ ν . . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . ] μντ[ . . ] βορρᾶ[θεν δέ]  
 [---] [ . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . ] θ[ . . . . .<sup>6</sup> ] ἐπρί[ατο]  
 [ἐπώ] [ . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . ] ν[ . ] τ[ . ] ἰο Σφή[ττιο]-  
 [---] [ς ἐγγυ vacat ] vacat  
 20 [καταβολή: . . ] vacat  
 vacat  
 [ . . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . ] ἐκ Κ]εραμέων ἀ[πέγρα]-  
 [ψε . . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . ] ἐκ Κεραμέω[ν . . . ]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . ] μηι ΚΩΙΩ[ . . . . .<sup>6</sup> ]  
 [---] [ . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . ] ὄφιλος ν[οτόθεν]  
 25 [ἐπώ] [δὲ . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . ] ἐπρί[ατο . . . ]  
 [---] [ . . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . ] ΛΟ[ . . . . .<sup>10</sup> ]  
 [καταβολή:-----] vacat  
 lacuna

## Col. I

lacuna

- d [ . . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . ] Ἀγρυλ]ῆθ[εν ἀπέγραψεν]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . ] ηττίο ο[ικίαν . . . ]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . ] κιον Ἀγρ[υλῆσιν ὦι γε]-  
 [ΗΗΔΠ] [ίτωμ βο]ρρᾶθεν ἡ δὸδ[ς νοτόθεν δ]-  
 5 [ἐπώ] [ἐ] Εὐ[θ]ύμαχος ἐπρίατ[ο . . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . ]  
 [Π] [τος Εὐθυμάχο Ἀγρυλ]ῆθεν ἐγγυ ]  
 [καταβολή: ΔΔΔΔΗτ<sup>υ</sup> [ vacat ]  
 <Λ>ενκόλοφος ἐξ Σαλα[μῖνος τὰδε]  
 ἀπέγ: Θεομένος Ξυπε[ταιῶνος οἰ]-  
 10 κίαν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι π[ . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . ]  
 ΗΗΗΗΔ ι ῆι γείτωμ βορρᾶθ[εν . . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . ν]-  
 ἐπώ οτόθεν δὲ Νικόδικ[ος ἐπρίατο Σ]-  
 ΠΗΗτ ωσίνομος Ἀριστονό[μο . . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . ]  
 ς ἐγγυ vacat  
 15 [καταβολ<ή>: ΜΔΔΔΗτ vacat  
 Θεομένος ἐτέρα οἰκία [ἐν . . . . . ]  
 ΗΔΔΔΔΠ τίωι ῆι γείτωμ βορρᾶθ[εν ἡ δὸδς]  
 ἐπώ νοτόθεν δὲ Ἐξήκεστος [ἐπρίατο]  
 [ΗΗ] Μέλητος Μεγακλέος Ἀλ[ωπεκῆθε]-  
 20 ν ἐγγυ vacat  
 [καταβολή: ΔΔΠΗ]τ vacat  
 lacuna

lacuna

- e [ . . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . ] ῆι γείτ]ωμ [βορρᾶθεν . . ]  
 [ΧΧΗΗΗΜΠ] [ . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . ] νοτόθ[εν δὲ Η[ . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . ]  
 [ἐπώ] [ . . . ἐπρί]ατο Μελ[ . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . ]  
 [ . Ἀλωπ]εκῆθεν ἐγ[γυ vacat ]

5 [κατα]βολή:  $\text{P}^{\text{v}}\text{H}\text{P}^{\text{v}}\text{I}$  [---vacat]  
 $\text{P}^{\text{v}}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$  [τὰ] ἐπώνια ὁ πριάμενος. . . . .<sup>7</sup> ]

*vacat*

*vacat*

[τῶ]ν Ἐνδεκα

*vacat*

[----- ο]ικίαι αἱ οἱ δὴμ[αρχοὶ ἀπέγραψαν]

*vacat*

10 Νόθιππος ἐξ [Οἷο ἀπέγραψεν. . .]  
 βόλο ἐξ Οἷο ο[ικίαν. . .<sup>7</sup> . . . καὶ]  
 κῆπον ὧι γείτωμ βορρᾶθεν. . . . ]  
 [.]ενω ν[ο]τό[θεν δὲ. . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . ]

*lacuna*

Col. I

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 32

*lacuna*

*f* ι[. . . . .<sup>29</sup> . . . . . κα]-  
 ταβολή ΔΔ[Δ. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .]  
 $\text{H}\text{H}\text{H}$  τὰ ἐπώνια [ὁ πριάμενος. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . ]  
 Πλάτων <᾽Α>φ[ιδναῖος ἀπέγραψεν. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . ]  
 5 σ κ<α>ὶ σύμβολοι κατεκύρωσαν. . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . ]  
 το Δαιδαλ[ίδο. . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . . ἐ]-  
*g*  $\text{P}^{\text{v}}\text{H}\Delta$  πὶ τῇ ΘΡΙΑ[. . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . . γείτωμ πρὸς ἡ-  
 λίο ἀνιόντ[ος. . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . .]δες βορρᾶθ-  
 εγ Κηφισόδω[ρος. . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .]s πλέθρα || ||  
 10 ἐπρίατο Ἄρε[. . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . .]λέμο Εὐωνυμ-  
 εὺς ἐγγυ κατ[αβολή-----] *vacat*  
 Δ<H> τὰ ἐπώνια ὁ π[ριάμενος ἐτέλ]ει *vacat*  
 Ἄρχέδημο[s. . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . . ἀπ]έγραψε Χαρί-  
 σιος κα[ὶ σύμβολοι κατεκύρω]σαν Δρακον-  
 15 τί[δο. . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .]ωι αὐτομ  
 $\text{P}^{\text{v}}\text{H}\text{H}\text{P}^{\text{v}}$  [. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . . . .]ΥΣΑΚΕ

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*h* [. . . . .<sup>31</sup> . . . . .]ν  
 [. . . . .<sup>29</sup> . . . . .]νν  
 [. . . . .<sup>28</sup> . . . . .]ννν  
 [. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . . . .]νννν  
 5 [. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .] χωρίον  
 [. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . . . .] πρὸς Ζ  
 [. . . . .<sup>28</sup> . . . . .] :: ἐπρί-  
 [ατο. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .]θεν ἐ-  
 [γγυ καταβολή. . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . .] *vacat*

10 [.....<sup>28</sup>.....] *vacat*  
[.....<sup>28</sup>.....] οντ[.]

*lacuna*

### ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

*i* [-----ἀπ]έγραψε Β[-----]  
[-----]Η[-----]

*lacuna*

*a, b, c:* line 5 δλι[γαρχῶν] ΤΟΜΜΕΡΟΣ Walbank; *vel fortasse* δλι[γαρχόν]τρωμ μέρος. Lines 7–8 Φ[αλ']|[ηρο(?)] Walbank. Line 14 [ν 'Αναιτίο(?) Σ]φηττίο Walbank. *lapis* ΟΙΚΙΑΚ. *d:* line 8, *lapis* ΑΕΥΚΟΛΟΦΟΣ. Line 15, *lapis* ΚΑΤΑΒΟΛΑΝ. *e:* lines 3–4 Μέλ[ητος Μεγακλέο]||[s 'Αλωπ]εκήθεν Meritt. Line 6 ὁ πρι[άμενος ἀπέδοτο] Meritt; ὁ πριά[μενος ἐτέλει<sup>v</sup>] Walbank. Line 9 ἐξ [Οἷο ἀπέγραφε] Meritt; ἐξ [Οἷο τάδε ἀπεγ:] W. K. Pritchett, *CP* 51, 1956, p. 102, note 8. *f, g:* line 3 [ὁ πριάμενος ἐτέλει *vacat*] Walbank. Line 4, *lapis* ΠΛΑΤΩΝΑΦ. Line 5, *lapis* ΣΚΑΙΣΥΜΒΟ. Line 6 Δαίδαλ[ίδο συνοικίαν καὶ ἐσχατιάν(?)] Meritt. Line 7 τῇ Θρί[αι κειμένας αἰς γεί]τρωμ Meritt; τῇ <δ>ρία[ι] Walbank. Line 10 Ἀρέ[σαιχμος(?)] Τληπο[λέμο] Meritt. Line 11 κατ[αβολή] ΗΔΔΗ(?) Meritt. Line 12, *lapis* ΔΙΙΙ. Lines 14–15 Δρακον[τί]δο Ἀφιδναίο(?) Walbank. *h:* lines 6–7 [ῶι γείτρωμ βορρᾶθεν ὁδός] πρὸς Ζ[|] [ἐαν ἄγουσα νοτόθεν δέ ὁδός] Meritt. Line 10 [τὰ ἐπώνια ὁ πριάμενος ἐτέλει<sup>υυυυ</sup>] Walbank.

Walbank made the association of the two fragments of the heading, I 6225 and I 7202, and the discovery that the stelai record the sale of confiscated property of the Thirty Tyrants, the Ten, the Peiraieus Ten, and the Eleven in the archonship of Mikon; see “The Confiscation and Sale by the Poletai in 402/1 B.C. of the Property of the Thirty Tyrants,” *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 74–98, for full epigraphical and historical discussion. The preserved fragments could represent as many as six stelai (Stele I, fragments *a, b, c*; Stele II, fragment *d*; Stele III, fragment *e*; Stele IV, fragments *f, g*; Stele V, fragment *h*; Stele VI, fragment *i*) or as few as three if fragment *e* goes with Stele II, fragment *h* with Stele IV, and fragment *i* with Stele II or Stele III. In view of these uncertainties the fragments have not been given stele numbers here.

The fragments were found widely scattered, and so there is no clear-cut indication from the findspots about the original site of the stelai. Walbank opts for a site near the Heliaia or at the Poleterion, wherever the latter may precisely have been. It is just as likely that the stelai stood where later poletai accounts were probably set up, in the courtyard of the New Bouleuterion.

The abbreviation ἐγγυ in these stelai has caused problems in the past, but it is now generally agreed that it stands for ἐγγυθηείς. Cf. Walbank, *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 78–79, for a discussion of Meritt's views. Harrison (*The Law of Athens: Procedure*, p. 181) was apparently unaware of Meritt's arguments on the matter and read ἐγγύ(ης) καταβολή, κτλ.

P3. Fragment of grayish Pentelic marble (I 2362) preserving part of the right side but otherwise broken, found in August 1934 in a marble pile in the area of the Tholos.

H. 0.20 m.; W. 0.137 m.; Th. 0.116 m.; L.H. 0.008 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 24–25, no. 32, photograph pl. 5; *SEG* XIX, 132.

*init. saec. IV a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[-----]Ο[. .]  
[-----]ΡΟΣΤ[.]  
[-----]Αἰ]θαλίδη-  
[s-----]τούτου ἐπώνια κ]αὶ κηρύκε-  
5 [ια-----]Παν]τάρκης  
[-----]δο Ὑβάδο χ-  
[ωρίον-----]π]εντήκοντ-  
[a-----]Ἱμεραῖος Σκα[μ]-  
[βωνίδης-----]άστια καὶ ο[ικί]-

- 10 [αν-----]ντος τῇ ἀπ[...]  
 [-----]ιο δισχιλ[...]  
 [-----]αι τῶν Α[...<sup>7</sup>...]  
 [-----]Σ[...<sup>ca. 9</sup>...]

*lacuna*

Line 9 [(?) προ]άστια Meritt.

**P4.** Stele of Pentelic marble (I 4478) with both sides and back preserved, found on February 6, 1937, in a Turkish context over the north part of the Odeion (K 9). The top and bottom are broken away, but traces of a molding are preserved above the inscription.

H. 0.476 m.; W. 0.352 m.; Th. 0.099 m.; L.H. 0.004–0.006 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.006 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 25–28, no. 33, photograph pl. 7; *SEG* XIX, 133.

a. 370/69 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 40

- [ἐπὶ Δυ]νν[ικ]ήτο ἄρχ[ον]τος ἐννέ' ἄρχοντες ἔφηναν κυ-  
 [ρώσα]ντες ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τοῖς πεντηκοσ[ίοις] Δυννί-  
 [κητο]ς [Φ]ιλ[υ]εύς, Φίλων Χολληίδης, Μένανδρος[...<sup>7</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>7</sup>...]όδοτος Λαμπρεύς, Εὐβολος Προβαλ[ίσιος], [...]  
 5 [...<sup>7</sup>...]ίδης Εἰρεσίδης, Εὐθυκράτης Φυλάσ[ιος], [...]  
 [...<sup>7</sup>...]ἔξ] Οἶο, Κτ[η]σ[ία]ς Βησαι[ε]ύς· Μέ[δ]ων Θορίκι[ος] [...]  
 [...<sup>6</sup>...]Ο]μφαλ[ί]ας τῆς ἄνω ἀπέγραψεν ἐν Λήμνω[...<sup>6</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>6</sup>...]το]ῦ Θεοφ[ί]λο Ἀλαιῶς χωρίον ἐν Ὀμφαλίαι [ἐν ᾧ ἀμπ]-  
 [έ]λυτο ὄρχοι [κ]αὶ συστὰς κα[ὶ] α]ὐλὴ καὶ ἐσχατ[ι]ὰ [...]  
 10 [...<sup>7</sup>...]δης οἷς [γέ]των βορρᾶ[θεν] ποταμὸς [κα]ὶ Κ[...<sup>7</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>9</sup>...]ς [ἐ]ξ Οἶο [.]ΑΛΑΡ[.]ΥΣΚΑ[.]ΙΑΣΙΜ[.]ΟΛΩ[...<sup>9</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>9</sup>...]όδος ἀστ[ί]α[.]Μ[.]Ο[.]ΔΕΜΙ[.]Ε[.]Κ[.]ΠΙ[...<sup>9</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>8</sup>...]εως ΚΛ[...<sup>8</sup>...]Ο[...<sup>8</sup>...]π]ρὸς [ῆ]λί[ο] ἀνιόν[τος] [...]  
 [...<sup>7</sup>...]ο Καλλι[...<sup>7</sup>...]ΑΛ[...<sup>7</sup>...]ΣΚ[...<sup>7</sup>...]ΗΡ[...<sup>7</sup>...]ΤΙΕ[...<sup>7</sup>...]  
 15 [...<sup>9</sup>...]ΑΛΟΑΙ[...<sup>9</sup>...]ΙΟΔ[...<sup>20</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>8</sup>...]ΡΟ[...<sup>8</sup>...]ΛΙΟΝ[...<sup>9</sup>...]Μ[...<sup>9</sup>...]ΛΙΜ[...<sup>6</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>20</sup>...]όρχο[...<sup>20</sup>...]Ο[...<sup>20</sup>...]ΣΕ[...]  
 [...<sup>19</sup>...]ΑΘ[...<sup>19</sup>...]λόφος [...<sup>19</sup>...]Ο[...<sup>19</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>16</sup>...]ΟΝΑ[...<sup>16</sup>...]ΣΑΙΟ[...<sup>16</sup>...]Ο[...<sup>16</sup>...]ΛΗ[...]  
 20 [...<sup>22</sup>...]ΝΕΩΣ[...<sup>22</sup>...]ΟΕ[...<sup>22</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>27</sup>...]ΚΑΛ[...<sup>27</sup>...]Ο[...<sup>27</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>22</sup>...]τὸ χωρί[ον] νοτόθεν [...<sup>22</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>6</sup>...]ἀνιόντος Ν[...<sup>6</sup>...]Σ[...<sup>23</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>26</sup>...]ΝΟ[...<sup>26</sup>...]ΠΡΟ[...<sup>26</sup>...]πρὸς ῆ]-  
 25 [λί]ο ἀνιόντο[ς] [...<sup>25</sup>...]Ε[...<sup>25</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>6</sup>...]ς τοῖς νο[...<sup>6</sup>...]ΣΕΠ[...<sup>22</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>28</sup>...]π]οταμὸς [...<sup>28</sup>...]ΛΕΩΙ  
 [...<sup>7</sup>...]τ]ὸ χωρίο[ν] [...<sup>7</sup>...]ΟΚ[...<sup>11</sup>...]ΟΝΙΟ[...<sup>11</sup>...]ΣΙΑΙ[...]  
 [...<sup>11</sup>...]Ο[...<sup>11</sup>...]της χω[...<sup>11</sup>...]Α[...<sup>11</sup>...]Ρ[...<sup>11</sup>...]ΣΥΣ[...]  
 30 [...<sup>12</sup>...]ης ΠΛΟ[...<sup>12</sup>...]Μ[...<sup>10</sup>...]Α[...<sup>10</sup>...]Θ[...<sup>10</sup>...]Ο[...]  
 [...<sup>13</sup>...]ΡΑΤΟΠ[...<sup>13</sup>...]Ο[...<sup>14</sup>...]ΑΤ[...]  
 [...<sup>28</sup>...]ΛΟΧΑΙ[...<sup>28</sup>...]ΩΙ[...]  
 [...<sup>25</sup>...]ΣΤΗΘΙΟ[...<sup>25</sup>...]ΣΑΤΕ[...]  
 [...<sup>20</sup>...]ΕΥΣΑΜΙΗΣ[...<sup>20</sup>...]Ε[...<sup>20</sup>...]ΠΣΔ[...]

- 35 [ . . . ] 'Α[λ]αιῶς ΑΜΙΟ[.]Ρ[. . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . .]ΗΛΟΣ[. . .]  
 [ . . . ] ΑΛΟΝΤΟΙΑΣΡ[.]ΙΣ[. . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . . . .]ΠΟΤ[. . . . .]  
 [ . . . ] ΕΑΥΤΗΙ[.]ΒΑ[. . . ] νοτ[ό]θεν ΜΑΛΙ[. . . . .]ΙΥΣΗΙ[. . . . .]  
 [ . . . ] ΑΙΚΑΙΟΜΟΜΗ[.]ΙΑΙ[.]ΩΡΟΘ[.]ΩΙ[. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . .]ΕΥ[. . . . .]  
 [ . . . ] Υ τῇ THM[.]ΑΙΟ[.]Α[. . . ] ΗΗΧΧ Σ[.]Ο[.]Ε[.]Ο[.]ΣΗ[. . . . .]  
 40 [ . . . ] Μένων Θο[ρ]ί[κ]ι[ς] ἄπέγραψεν [ . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . .]ΟΙ[. . .]  
 [οἰ]κίαν ΟΚΑ[.]ΤΑΣ[.]Λ[. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .]  
 [πο]ταμὸς καὶ ὁδὸς ἀστ[ία] . . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .  
 [ . . . ] ΟΠ[.]Ο[.] νοτόθεν Ο[. . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . .]ΙΕ[. . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .]  
 [ . . ] ΝΕΑ[. . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .]Λ[. . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . . .]Τ[. . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . .]  
 45 [.] ἀνιόντ[ος] . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . .]Ν[. . . . .<sup>19</sup> . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>40</sup> . . . . .]  
 [ . . ] ΤΑΝΟ[. . . . .<sup>34</sup> . . . . .]  
 [.] οἰκίαν [ . . . . .<sup>33</sup> . . . . .]  
 [.] ΟΣΙΟΣ[. . . . .<sup>34</sup> . . . . .]  
 50 [ . . . . .]Τ[. . . . .<sup>35</sup> . . . . .]

*lacuna*

Lines 6–7 [κάτοι]κος J. Labarbe, *Thorikos. Les testimonia*, Ghent 1977, p. 98, no. 100; [ . . . . . ] τῇς Meritt. Lines 7–8 [Διοδώρ]ο το]ῦ Meritt; for objections to this restoration, see Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, p. 155.

The text is basically Meritt's. The inscribed face is so badly worn that not much new text has been read by autopsy.

**P5** (Pl. 8). Intact stele of Pentelic marble (I 5509), found on May 25, 1938, beneath the floor of the Tholos in fill of the late 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C. (G 12). The stele is crowned with a flat-topped molding which preserves a painted band of egg and dart on the curved surface.

H. 0.922 m.; W. of molding 0.392 m.; W. of inscribed face at top 0.36 m., at bottom 0.404 m.; Th. 0.097–0.132 m.; L.H. line 1, 0.010 m., lines 2–83, 0.004 m.; lines 2–83, stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.008 m. and a vertical checker of 0.007 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 10, 1941, pp. 14–27, no. 1, photograph p. 15; *SEG* XII, 100. For the findspot see *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 59–60. For the first part (lines 1–39) cf. M. I. Finley, "Multiple Charges on Real Property in Athenian Law. New Evidence from an Agora Inscription," in *Studi in onore di V. Arangio-Ruiz* III, Naples 1953, pp. 473–491; Institut Fernand-Courby, *Nouveau choix d'inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1971, pp. 143–149, no. 26. For the second part (lines 40–83) cf. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 206, no. 1.

a. 367/6 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 39

- Ἐπὶ Πολυζήλο ἄρχοντος πωληταί  
 Πολύευκτος Λαμπτρέυς, Δεινίας Ἐρχιεύς, Θεαῖος  
 Παιανιεύς, Θεότιμος Φρεάρριος, Ἀριστογένης Ἰφ-  
 ιστιάδης, Γλαύκων Λακιάδης, Κηφισοκλῆς Πειρα-  
 5 ιεύς, Νικοκλῆς Ἀναφλύστιος, οἷς Ἐξήκεστος Κοθ-  
 ωκίδης ἐγραμμάτευν, τὰδε ἀπέδοντο παραλαβόν-  
 τες παρὰ τῶν ἑνδεκα Φαίακος Ἀφιδναῖο καὶ συναρ-  
 χόντων Μονιχιῶνος δεκάτη ἱσταμένο, Θεόμνηστ-  
 10 ος Δεισιθέο Ἰωνίδης ἀπέγραψεν Θεοσέβος τοῦ Θε-  
 οφίλο Ξυπεταιόνος οἰκίαν Ἀλωπεκῆσιν δημοσί-  
 α εἶναι, ἥι γείτων βορρᾶ; ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐς τὸ Δαιδάλειον  
 φέρουσα καὶ τὸ Δαιδάλειον νοτόθεν; Φίλιππος Ἀγ-  
 ρυλῆ, ἄλόντος Θεοσέβος ἱεροσυλίας καὶ οὐχ ὑπομ-  
 εῖναντος τὴν κρίσιν ὅσωι πλείονος ἀξία ἢ ὑπόκε-  
 15 ιται Σμικύθωι Τειθρασίωι; Η<sup>Ρ</sup> δραχμῶν, κλητῆρ Δι-  
 ογείτων Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, Φιλοίτιος Ἰωνίδης Κιχωνί-

- δης Διογείτονος Γαργήτ καὶ κοινὸν φρατέρων Με-  
 δοντιδῶν ἐνεπρσκήψατο ἐνοφείλεσθαι ἑαυτῶ κ-  
 αὶ τοῖς φράτερσι ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ Ἀλωπεκῇσι Η δ-  
 20 ραχμάς, ἣν ἀπέγραψεν Θεόμνηστος Ἰωνί Θεοσέβος  
 εἶναι Ξυπετα ἢ γείτων βορρᾶ ἢ ὁδὸς ἢ ἐς τὸ Δαιδά-  
 λε(ι)ον φέρουσα καὶ τὸ Δαιδάλειον, νοτόθεν Φίλιπ-  
 ος Ἀγρυλῇ, ἀποδομένο ἐμο(ι) καὶ τοῖς φράτερσιν τῇ-  
 ν οἰκίαν ταύτην Θεοφίλου Ξυπε; τὸ πατὴρ τοῦ Θεο-  
 25 σέβος· ἔδοξεν ἐνοφείλεσθαι. Ἰσαρχος Φίλωνος Ξυ-  
 πε(ι)ται; ἀμφισβητεῖ ἐνοφείλεσθαι ἑαυτῶ ἐν τῇ οἰ-  
 κίᾳ τῇ Ἀλωπεκῇσι ἣν ἀπέγραψεν Θεόμνηστος Δε-  
 ισιθέο Ἰωνίδης, θάψαντος ἐμὸ Θεόφιλον ὃ ἦν ἡ οἰκ-  
 ία καὶ τὴν γυναικα τὴν Θεοφίλο ΔΔΔ; δραχμάς. ἔδοξ-  
 30 ἐν ἐνοφείλεσθαι. Αἰσχίνης Μελιτε(υς) καὶ κοινὸν ὀ-  
 ργέωνων ἐνεπρσκήψατο ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἣν ἀπέγραψ-  
 ἐν Θεόμνηστος Ἰωνίδης ἐνοφείλεσθαι ἑαυτοῖς:  
 ΔΔΗΗΗ δραχμάς, πριαμένων ἡμῶν τὴν οἰκίαν ταύ-  
 τῃν παρὰ Θεοφίλου τοῦτο τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἐπὶ λύσει. ἔδ-  
 35 οξεν ἐνοφείλεσθαι. ὦνητής, Λυσανίας Παλαθίωνο-  
 ς Λακι ΠΠΔΔΠ· τοῦτο τὴν προκαταβολὴν τὸ πέμπτον  
 μέρος ἔχει ἡ πόλις καὶ τὰ ἐπώνια καὶ τὰ κηρύκεια  
 καὶ Σμίκυθος Τειθράσιος τὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκ-  
 ατόν· ἀθρόον κατὰ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν. *vacat*  
*vacat*  
 40 μέταλλα ἐπράθη ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθωντίδος πρώτης, Δε-  
 ξιακὸν ἐν Νάπει ἐπὶ Σκοπιᾷ, ὦι γεί πανταχόθεν Ν-  
 ικίας Κυδαν, ὦνη Καλλίας Σφήττι ΔΔ; Διακὸν ἐπὶ Λα-  
 υρείῳ, ὦι γεί; πρὸς ἡλίο ἀνιόντος τὰ χωρία τὰ Ἐξω-  
 πίου, δυομένο τὸ ὄρος, ὦνη Ἐπιτέλης ἐκ Κερα ΔΔ· ἐπὶ  
 45 Σουνίῳ ἐν τοῖς Χαρμύλο παίδων, ὦι γεί; βορρᾶ Κλε-  
 ὀκριτος Αἶγι, νοτό; Λεύκιος Σουνι, ὦνη; Φεΐδιππος  
 Πιθεὺς ΔΔ; Ποσειδωνιακὸν ἐν Νάπηι τῶν ἐκ τῆς στή-  
 λης ἐν τοῖς Ἀλυπῆτου, ὦι γεί Καλλίας Σφήττι καὶ Δ-  
 ιοκλῆς Πιθεὺς, ὦνητής Θρασύλοχο(ς) Ἀναγυρά; ΧΠΠ  
 50 Ἀγνοσιακὸν τῶν ἐκ τῆς (σ)τήλης, ὦνη; Τελέσαρχος Αἰξ-  
 ω; ΧΠΠ· Ἀρτεμισιακὸν τῶν ἐκ τῆς στήλης ὦνη; Θρασύλ-  
 οχος Ἀναγυρά; ΗΠ· ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος δευτέρας ἐπ-  
 ἰ Λαυρείῳ αὐτὸ καὶ τὰς κατατομάς, ὦι γεί; βορρᾶ Δ-  
 ιοπείθης Εὐωνυ; καὶ Δημοστράτο κάμινος Κυθήρ, ν-  
 55 οτό τὸ Διοπείδος ἐργαστήριον καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀμαξι-  
 κὴ καὶ ἡ χαράδρα ἡ Θορικίω; ὦνη; Κηφισόδοτος Αἰθ-  
 α ΔΔ; Δημητριάκον ἐν τοῖς Τιμησίῳ ἐν Νάπηι, ὦι γε-  
 ῖ; Νικίας Κυδαν; νοτό Διοκλῆς Πιθεὺς, ὦνη Δήμων Ἀ-  
 γρυ; ΔΔ; ἐν Μαρωνέαι Ἑρμαϊκόν, ὦι γεί Διοφάνης Σου-  
 νι; ὦνη; Φιλῖνος Σουνι; ΔΔ; ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνείδος τρίτης,  
 60 ἐπ[ι] Λαυρείῳ Θεογνίδειον ἐκ τῆς στήλης, ὦι γεί τ-  
 ὸ Ἐξωπῖο χωρίον, ὦνη; Καλλίας Λαμπτρ Π; ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκ-  
 ροπίδος τετάρτης, ἐπὶ Σουνί(ω) ἐν Νάπει Πυρρίει-  
 ον, ὦι γεί πρὸς ἡλίο ἀνιόν; Καλλίας Ἀλωπ, δυομέ Νικ-  
 65 ίας Κυδαν, ὦνη Καλλίας Σφήτ ΔΔ; Θορικοὶ Ἀρχηγέτε-

- ιον ἐν τοῖς Δημοφίλων, ὦι γεί: βορρᾶ: καὶ νοτό Δημό-  
 φίλος, ὦνη Κηφισοφῶν Συβρί ΔΔ: ἐν Νάπηι ἐν τοῖς χω-  
 ρίοις τῆς Χαρμύλο[ ]ν γυναικός, ὦι γεί: τὸ χωρίον τ-  
 ῆς γυναικὸς τῆς Ἀλυπήτο, βορρᾶ Τελέσων Σο(υ)νι: πρό-  
 70 s ἥλιο ἀνιόν: χωρίον Τελέσωνος Σουνι, δυομένο Ἐπ-  
 ικράτης Παλλη: ὦνη: Ἐπικλέης Σφήτ: ΔΔ: ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγι-  
 ἰδος πέμπτης, Ἀρχηγέτειον καὶ τὰς κατατομάς, στ-  
 ῆλην οὐκ ἔχον, Βήσησιν ἐν τοῖς Κηφισοδότο καὶ Κα-  
 λλίο, ὦι γεί πρὸς ἥλιο ἀνιόν: Καλλίο Λαμπ: πύργος κ-  
 75 αὶ οἰκία, βορρᾶ: τὸ(ι) Κηφισοδότου ἐργαστή: νοτό τὸ Ἀ-  
 ρχηγέτειον, ὦνη: Κηφισοδότος Αἶθα: ΔΔ: ἐπὶ τῆς Λεω-  
 ντίδος ἐβδόμης, ἐπὶ Σουνίω ἐπὶ Θρασύμωι Κεραμ-  
 εικόν, ὦι γεί: Διοπίεθς Εὐωνυ: ὦνη Ἀλεξίμαχος Πή-  
 ληξ: ΔΔ: ἐπὶ Σουνίω ἐν Νάπηι ἐν τοῖς Χαρμύλο παίδ-  
 80 ων, ὦι γεί βορρᾶ: Πύρρακος Αἰγι: νοτό: Λεύκιος Σουν,  
 ὦνη: Φεΐδιππος Πιθεύς: ΔΔ: ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθείδος ἐνά-  
 ττης, ἐπὶ Σουνίω τῶν ἐκ τῆς στήλης Λευκίππειον Β-  
 ῆσησι, ὦνη Χαιρέδημος Ἀγνού: Η<sup>Π</sup> vacat

Lines 21–22, *lapis* ΔΑΙΔΑ|ΛΕΟΝ; line 23, *lapis* ΕΜΟΨ; line 30, *lapis* ΜΕΛΙΤΕΙ; line 49, *lapis* ΘΡΑΣΥΛΟΧΟ<sup>Ο</sup>ΑΝΑΓΥΡΑ;  
 line 50, *lapis* ΤΗΣΤΗΛΗΣ; line 63, *lapis* ΣΟΥΝΙΑΙ; line 69, *lapis* ΓΥΝΑΚΟΣ, ΣΟΝΝΙ. Line 82 (ἐπὶ Σουνίωι) Eliot, *Coastal*  
*Demes*, pp. 94–96. In line 32 the punctuation mark occupies a letter space.

A few minor corrections have been made to Crosby's text.

**P6.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 2964) with the left side and rough-picked back preserved, found on May 4, 1935, in  
 a late disturbance just above bedrock in the southeast part of the Bouleuterion Plateia (G 11).

H. 0.237 m.; W. 0.12 m.; Th. 0.075 m.; L.H. 0.006–0.007 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.008 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 206–208, no. 2, photograph pl. 83; *SEG XXVIII*, 119.

*paullo post a.* 367/6 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

- [. . . .]μπιακὸ[ν -----]  
 [βορρ]ᾶθεν<sup>Ν</sup>Νο[-----]  
 [. . .]εγράψατ[ο -----]  
 [. . .]μέ]ταλλον Θο[ρικοῖ -----]  
 5 [. . .]αικὸν ἐν [-----] ὦι  
 [γεί]των βορρᾶθ[εν -----] ἥλιο δυ]-  
 [ομέ]νο ἱερὸν Μ[-----]  
 [. .]ικὸν ἐν Αὐλ[ῶνι -----]  
 [. .]κριτος Σου[νι -----] ἐπὶ Θ]-  
 10 [ρ]ασύμωι ὦι γ[εί]των βορρᾶθεν -----] ἥλ]-  
 [ί]ο δυομένο Σ[-----] ὦνη -----]  
 as Θορίκ<sup>Π</sup>Δ[-----] Ἀπο]-  
 λλωνιακὸν Ο[-----] ἐν τῶι λόφωι τῶι  
 Βα(μ)βιδείω[ι -----]  
 15 ρηματα το[-----] Ποσ]-  
 ειδωνια[κὸν -----]  
 ον ἐμ Μαρ[ωνείαι -----] ἐμ Πα]-  
 γγαίωι [-----] κατατ]-  
 ομή, ὦν[η -----]  
 20 s Εὐω[νυ -----]  
 Η<sup>Π</sup> Θω[-----]



ONE[ -----]  
 ν ὦν[η-----]  
 I[ -----]

*lacuna*

Line 14, *lapis BABIΔΕΙΩ*. Lines 14–15 [?χ]|*ρήματα* Crosby.

**P7.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 2503) preserving the right side and rough-picked back, found on March 2, 1935, in a modern wall over the south part of the Odeion (M 12).

H. 0.165 m.; W. 0.162 m.; Th. 0.074 m.; L.H. 0.004–0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.008 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 208–209, no. 3, photograph pl. 83.

*paullo ante med. saec. IV a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[-----] IO[.] EN[.]  
 [-----] NEMM[.] A[.] O  
 [-----] N τὸ Προκλε  
 [-----] ιον ἐπ[ι] Σο[υ] ν-  
 5 [ίωι-----] ΗΣ[.] NE[.]  
 [-----] ν καὶ τὰς ὑ[.]  
 [-----] βορρ] ἀθεν ἡ χαρ[άδ]-  
 [ρα-----] ἡλίο ἀ] νιό<sup>ν</sup> τῶν ΕΟ[.]  
 [-----] ὦι γεί[τω] ν νο[τ]-  
 10 [όθεν-----] ὦνη-----] αμβ<sup>ν</sup> ΩΙ[.] Τ[.]  
 [-----] ρης Ἀπολλωνι  
 [-----] χος Αἰζω[.] ΑΚΑ  
 [-----] χύλο θυγ[άτ] ηρ  
 [-----] μέτα[λ] λον[.]  
 15 [-----] ἐν τῶ] ι λόφωι τῶ-  
 [ι-----]

*lacuna*

Lines 3–4 τὸ Προκλέ[ους (?)] Crosby. Line 12 [(?) Τελέσαρ] χος Crosby. Line 13 [Αἰσ] χύλο Crosby.

In line 10 Crosby read Δι[ό]τ[ι], but omega is clearly visible after the *vacat*.

**P8.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 6641) broken on all sides and at the back, found on November 12, 1953, in a marble pile in the southwest corner of the Agora square.

H. 0.17 m.; W. 0.083 m.; Th. 0.06 m.; L.H. 0.005–0.006 m.; lines 1–8, stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.008 m.; lines 9–15, stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.007 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 1–2, no. S1, photograph pl. 1; *SEG* XVI, 122.

*paullo ante med. saec. IV a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[-----] <sup>10</sup> . . . ] N[.] E[-----]  
 [-----] <sup>9</sup> . . . ] ΔΕΡΜΑΙ[-----]  
 [-----] <sup>8</sup> . . . ] ΙΙ[.] Ν[.] ΑΜΙΕ[-----]  
 [-----] <sup>8</sup> . . . ] ισιακὸν ἐ[-----]  
 5 [-----] <sup>10</sup> . . . ] ὠνειον [-----]  
 [-----] <sup>10</sup> . . . ] ὠνητῇ[ς-----]  
 [-----] <sup>8</sup> . . . ] Ι[.] ΗΓΔ Αἰ[-----]  
 [-----] <sup>9</sup> . . . ] ἐ] πὶ τῆς Ἀκ[αμαντίδος-----] πρυτανείας-----]



- [.] ΔΔ ὕ Ἀμειψίας Κυθήρ ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον ----- ὦι  
 γεί βορ]-  
 [ρ]ᾱ τὰ Διοφάνους ἐδάφη νοτόθ ἢ χαράδρα ἢ ἀπὸ ----- ὦνη  
 Ἀμειψίας -----]  
 [ο]υς Κ(υ)θήρ ΔΔ ὕ Ξενότιμος Προσπάλ ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον ----- ὦι γ]-  
 [ε]ί βορρᾱ Φεῖδιππος Πιθ[ε ν]οτό[θ. .]Ο[.]Λ[.] ----- ὦνη  
 Ξενότιμος Προσπάλ ΔΔ ὕ -----]  
 30 ἀπορίδης Θεοπόμπου Κο[λ]ων[ῆ] ἀπ[ε]γράψατο μέταλλον ----- ὦι  
 γεί βορρᾱ---᾽Α]-  
 [ν]δρίου [χ]ωρίον Ἀλαι νοτόθ ἀγορᾶ Β[ησ]αίεω[ν ----- ὦνη  
 ---ἀπορίδης Θεοπόμπο]-  
 [ν] Κολωνῆ ΔΔ ὕ Εὔ[α]νδρος Εὐαινέτο Ἐρχ[ι] ἀπ[ε]γράψατο μέταλλον -----]  
 [. . .]σιακὸν ὦι γεί βορρᾱ ἢ ὁ[δ]ὸς ἢ φέρε[ι] Βήσ[α]ζε ----- ὦνη  
 Εὔανδρος Εὐαινέτο Ἐρχι ΔΔ ὕ -----]  
 [Τε]λενίκο Περγα ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον -----]  
 35 [.]Ο[.]ληκὸν πρὸς ἡλίο δυομέ τὰ Ἀμφικ[---ἐδάφη---ὦνη-----Τελενίκο Περγα  
 ΔΔ ὕ Ἐπικράτης Φιλοκράτους Ἐλευσί ἀπεγράψα]-  
 [το Φρ]εαρροὶ μέταλλον Ε[.]ρωικὸν [π]αλ[α]ιὸν ἀνασάξιμον ----- ὦνη Ἐ]-  
 [π]ικράτης Φιλοκράτους Ἐλευσί [Δ]Δ ὕ [-----ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον  
 ----- ὦι γεί π]-  
 [α]νταχόθεν Διοπίθους Φρ[ε]α χωρίον [ὦνη----- ΔΔ ὕ Ἀγνίας Ὁαθεν  
 ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον-----]  
 [. .]ησι παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον> στηλήν ἔχον [ῶ]ι γεί βορρᾱ-----]  
 40 [. .]ακων καὶ ἡ δὸς ἢ εἰς ἀγορ[ρ]ᾱν [-----μέταλλον δ-----]  
 [. . .]ργάζεται ὦνη Ἀγνίας Ὁαθεν ΔΔ ὕ Κηρυκίδης Εὐξιθέο ἐκ Κολωνοῦ ἀπεγρ-  
 ἀψατο μέταλλον-----]-  
 [. . .]δ[.] λ[ό]φος ὁ Βαμβίδειος πρὸς ἡλίο -----]  
 [. . .]ὦνη Κηρυκ[ί]δης Εὐξιθέ[ο] ἐκ Κολωνοῦ ΔΔ ὕ ----- ἐν τοῖ]-  
 [ς ἐδάφε]σι τοῖς Θεμιστίο [ὦι γεί-----]  
 45 [.....<sup>16</sup>.....]Η[-----]  
 lacuna

Line 16 [εἰς Αὐλ]ῶ[να] *vel* [ἀπὸ Μαρ]ω[νείου]. Line 28, *lapis* ΚΗΘΗΡ. Lines 38–39 [Β][ήσ]ησι *vel* [Ἀμφιτρ][οπ]ῆσι. ἀνασάξιμον *omisiit lapis*.

In the next to last preserved letter space of line 41 I read, with Crosby, a circular letter. Meritt has doubted this reading (*Hesperia* 36, 1967, p. 100), but to my eye the traces of a closed, circular letter are clear. The final letter is unquestionably an alpha, and so I read Ὁα[θεν], despite the reservations expressed by Sterling Dow on this spelling for the mid-4th century ("The Attic Demes OA and OE," *AJP* 84, 1963 [pp. 166–181], pp. 172–173).

For the decree on the back of the stone, which suggests a line of about 87 letters, see M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 26, 1957, p. 5, note 2.

**P10.** Fragment of an opisthographic stèle of Hymettian marble (I 1261) composed of two joining pieces, preserving part of the smooth-picked top but broken at sides and bottom, found on February 1 and April 13, 1934, the smaller piece in surface fill northwest of the Tholos (G 11), the larger in late fill also northwest of the Tholos (F 11).

H. 0.136 m.; W. 0.158 m.; Th. 0.086 m.; L.H. 0.004–0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.007 m. and a vertical checker of 0.006 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 209–210, no. 4, photograph pl. 83; *SEG* XXVIII, 120.

#### Face A

*paullo ante med. saec. IV a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

#### lacuna

[-----<sup>24</sup>-----]Σ[. .]Κ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>20</sup>-----]Κ[ε]ραμεικ[ὸν] -----]  
 [-----<sup>16</sup>-----]Ἀρτε[μ]ισιακὸν [-----]

- 5 [-----<sup>18</sup>..... Π]υρρίειον [-----]  
 [-----<sup>17</sup>.....] ὦνη Φιλοκλή[ς-----]  
 [-----<sup>13</sup>..... ὦι] γεί βορρά Διονυ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>7</sup>.....] Η<sup>πν</sup> ἐπὶ [Σ]ουνίωι ἄνω Νυμφ[αῖκον-----]  
 [-----<sup>7</sup>.....] Θορί ἡργάσατο ὦνη Ἀντιμ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>7</sup>.....] τὸ ἐργαστήριον ὃ Πολύξε[νος-----]  
 10 [-----<sup>7</sup>.....] ὦι γεί βορρά Θεμιστίο ἐργασ[τήριον-----]  
 [-----<sup>7</sup>.....] Δ<sup>ν</sup> Μνησίλοχος Σουνι ἀ[πεγράψατο μέταλλον-----]  
 [-----<sup>6</sup>.....] τὸ ἐργ[α]στήριον τὸ Διοτ[ίμο-----]  
 [-----<sup>7</sup>.....] γήν[ω]ρ Φρεάρρι ἀπεγρ[άψατο μέταλλον-----]  
 [-----<sup>8</sup>.....] σ[ο] χω]ρίον δυομένο [-----]  
 15 [-----<sup>14</sup>.....] οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἐ[δάφεσιν τοῖς-----]  
 [-----<sup>14</sup>.....] ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐπὶ [-----]  
 [-----<sup>18</sup>.....] πρὸς [ήλίο-----]

lacuna

Face B

lacuna

- [-----] ΠΟΛΕ[.....<sup>26</sup>-----]  
 [-----] ΔΙΚ[.....<sup>27</sup>-----]  
 20 [-----] δ]νο[μ]έ[ν]ο Κολ[.....<sup>20</sup>-----]  
 [-----] μέταλλον] ἀνασάξιμον [.....<sup>19</sup>-----]  
 [-----] πρὸ]ς ἡ[λ]ίο ἀνιόν Η[.....<sup>18</sup>-----]  
 [-----] ἀπεγρ]άψ[α]τ[ο] μέταλλο[ν.....<sup>16</sup>-----]  
 [-----] ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ] ἀστική Βήσαζε [φέρουσα.....<sup>10</sup>-----]  
 25 [-----] ἐρ]γάζεται ὦνη Καλ[.....<sup>16</sup>-----]  
 [-----] ον στήλην ἔχον [.....<sup>16</sup>-----]  
 [-----] ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐπὶ Λαύ]ρειον φέρονσ[α.....<sup>16</sup>-----]  
 [-----] ν ἀνασάξιμο[ν.....<sup>16</sup>-----]  
 [-----] Λα]μπτ μέταλλ[ον ἀπεγράψατο.....<sup>6</sup>-----]  
 30 [-----] σα καὶ τὸ [.....<sup>19</sup>-----]  
 [-----] ΟΣΕΡ[.....<sup>22</sup>-----]  
 [-----] Χ[.....<sup>24</sup>-----]

lacuna

Line 8 Ἀντίμ[αχος (?)] Crosby. Line 13 [(?) Ἀ] γήν[ω]ρ Crosby. The restoration is probable, but it should not be considered well attested as is done by Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, p. 500, under 13374. Line 15 [(?) Θορικ]οῖ Crosby.

**P9** and **P10** are probably from different stelai, but similarities in lettering and arrangement of texts suggest that they are closely contemporary.

**P11.** Fragment of a stele of white to gray marble with bluish veins (I 6647) broken on all sides, found on March 30, 1954, built into a late Roman wall in the southwest part of the Agora (H 14).

H. 0.132 m.; W. 0.173 m.; Th. 0.035 m.; L.H. 0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.007 m. and a vertical checker of 0.006 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 9–10, no. S3, photograph pl. 1; *SEG* XVI, 124.

*paullo ante med. saec. IV a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

- [-----<sup>13</sup>.....] ΛΟ[-----]  
 [-----] ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφε]σιν τ[οῖς] Θυ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>7</sup>.....] Ἀρτ]εμισιακὸν ἐπὶ Ἐθ[-----]

5 [-----<sup>10</sup>.....]έον χω[ρ]ία πρὸς ἡλίο [-----]  
 [-----<sup>9</sup>.....μ]έταλλον ἀνασάξιμον [-----]  
 [-----<sup>9</sup>.....σ]τήλη[ν] ἔχον [ . ]Ν[ . ]ΣΕΝΟ[-----]  
 [-----.....μέταλ]λον δ̄ [ἀπεγράψατ]ο [ . ]Η[-----]  
 [-----<sup>6</sup>.....πρὸς ἡ]λίο ἀ[νι]όν ὁ[δο]ς Βήσα[ζε]-----  
 [-----.....ἀπεγράψα]το μέτα[λλ]ο[ν] παλ[αι]ὸν [ἀνασάξιμον]-----  
 10 [-----<sup>9</sup>.....ἐπ]ὶ Θράσυ[μ]ο[ν] νοτόθ Ε[-----]  
 [-----<sup>12</sup>.....]στήλην ἔχον Ἑρω[ικόν]-----  
 [-----<sup>12</sup>.....]ώνη Φιλ[-----]  
 [-----.....ῶι γεί β]ορρά ὁ λόφος νο[-----]  
 [-----<sup>13</sup>.....]κὸν ΑΛΛ[ . ]ΑΠ[-----]  
 15 [-----<sup>13</sup>.....]ΟΥΛΙΚΟΙ[ . ]ΛΛΗ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>15</sup>.....]ἐργαστήριον-----  
 [-----<sup>15</sup>.....]ον Κλεομέ[-----]

*lacuna*

Line 13: either νο[τό ---] with Crosby, or Νο[---], name of the hill.

**P12.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 631 c) preserving only the inscribed face, found on April 19, 1934, in a modern context south of the Tholos (G 12).

H. 0.147 m.; W. 0.145 m.; Th. 0.008 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.007 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 269–270, no. 22, photograph pl. 94; *SEG XXVIII*, 131.

*paullo ante med. saec. IV a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*  
 [-----<sup>13</sup>.....]Ο[-----]  
 [-----<sup>12</sup>.....]ΟΛΧ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>12</sup>.....]αρωι Ο[-----]  
 [-----<sup>9</sup>.....]ΟΕΡΛΙΠΠ[-----]  
 5 [-----<sup>10</sup>.....]ιον <τ>ῆς [σ]τήλης [-----]  
 [-----<sup>9</sup>.....]ριον νοτ[όθεν]-----  
 [-----.....σ]τήλην οὐκ ἔχον-----  
 [-----<sup>7</sup>.....]Λυσ[ι]στρατο[-----]  
 [-----.....]ῶι γει[ί] βο[ρ]ρᾶθε[ν]-----  
 10 [-----.....]Ο[ . ] Ἀναφλυ ἡργάξ[ετο]-----  
 [-----ἀπεγρά]ψα[τ]ο ΗΑΔΡΑ[ . ]Ω[-----]  
 [-----<sup>6</sup>.....]τοῦτο τὸ μέταλλο[ν]-----  
 [-----ἀπεγρά]ψατο Ἑρμαικὸν Θ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>7</sup>.....]ἀνι[ό]ν ὁ λ[ό]φος καὶ Δ[-----]  
 15 [-----<sup>17</sup>.....]Ο[ . ]ΝΙ[-----]

*lacuna*

Line 5, *lapis* ΙΟΝΛΗΣ. Line 13 Θ[ορικοῖ ---] Crosby, probably correctly, but Θ[αλινοῖ ---] might be possible if the restoration of **P29**, line 6 could stand; cf. the apparatus criticus to that line.

Crosby originally read a punctuation mark for the upsilon in line 10, and this led her to place the inscription fairly late in the series. She later made the correct reading: *Hesperia* 26, 1957, p. 10, under no. S3. **P12** has no punctuation marks and may assuredly be dated before 350.

**P13.** Seven fragments of Hymettian marble, from a three- or four-columned stele.

*a:* Fragment (I 1851) preserving part of the fine-picked top surface, found on April 14, 1934, in a late Roman context next to the foundations of the northwest corner of the Middle Stoa (H 12).

H. 0.115 m.; W. 0.299 m.; Th. 0.03 m.

*b*: Fragment (I 679) broken on all sides, found on April 11, 1933, in a late wall east of the Tholos (I 12).

H. 0.126 m.; W. 0.211 m.; Th. 0.051 m.

*c*: Fragment (I 631 f) broken on all sides, found on January 31, 1935, in a late wall south of the Tholos (G 12).

H. 0.112 m.; W. 0.109 m.; Th. 0.034 m.

*d*: Two joining fragments, the smaller (I 1570) found on March 15, 1934, in a late context just northeast of the Tholos (H 11), the larger (I 2738) found on April 8, 1935, in a modern cellar wall over the northeast part of the Odeion (M 10). The joined fragments are broken on all sides, but the larger fragment does preserve part of the smooth, uninscribed back.

H. 0.161 m.; W. 0.35 m.; Th. 0.113 m.

*e*: Fragment (I 631 d) broken on all sides, found on April 20, 1934, in a late context east of the Tholos (H 11).

H. 0.06 m.; W. 0.086 m.; Th. 0.03 m.

*f*: Fragment (I 810) broken on all sides, found on May 15, 1933, in a late context east of the Tholos (H 11).

H. 0.11 m.; W. 0.055 m.; Th. 0.025 m.

Letter height on all fragments 0.003–0.004 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.006 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 210–218, no. 5, photographs pls. 84, 85. *SEG* XXVIII, 121.

ca. a. 350/49 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 39

Col. I

*lacuna*

[.....<sup>37</sup>.....]ΩΙ *a*  
 [.....<sup>34</sup>.....]ς Σίφν-  
 [ι ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον ἀνασάξιμον Ποσ]ειδωνια-  
 [κὸν στήλην ἔχον ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσι τοῖς Χ]αρμύλο πα-  
 5 [ἰδων ὦι γεί βορ.....<sup>15</sup>.....νοτ]ό Λεύκιος Σ-  
 [ουνη ὦνη.....<sup>22</sup>.....]ι ΧΗΗΔ· ἐπὶ Σο-  
 [.....<sup>23</sup>.....] ἀνασάξιμον Κ-  
 [.....<sup>18</sup>.....ὦι γεί βο]ρρᾶ Διοκλέους Σο-  
 [.....<sup>21</sup>.....] Σουνη χωρίον πρὸς  
 10 [ἡλίο δυομένο ἢ ὁδὸς ἢ ἐπὶ Θρά]σιν μὸν φέρουσα στή[λ]-  
 [ην ἔχον ὦνη.....<sup>14</sup>.....]ῖππο Ἀφιδναῖ Η[....]  
 [.....<sup>19</sup>.....ἀνασ]άξιμ[ον.....<sup>10</sup>.....]  
 style="text-align: center;">*lacuna*

Col. II

*lacuna*

[.....<sup>6</sup>.....]Λ[.]ΕΡ[.....<sup>29</sup>.....]  
 [Αἰ]σχύλο· Θριασ[.]Σ[.....<sup>17</sup>.....]ΗΣ[.]Ο[.....<sup>17</sup>.....]  
 15 [.]μέταλλον στήλην ἔχον Θεο[.....<sup>17</sup>.....]  
 ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς Τίμων[os.... ὦι γεί βορρᾶ]  
 Διοκλῆς Σουνη νοτό Ἀριστι[.....<sup>7</sup>.....πρὸς ἡλίο ἀν]-  
 [ιό]ν Κίμων Σουνη πρὸς ἡλ[ίο δυο.....<sup>15</sup>.....]  
 ὦνη Εὐφράνωρ Φιλ[.....<sup>22</sup>.....Φαν]-  
 20 οστράτο Γαργή [ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον παλαιὸν ἀν]-  
 ασάξιμον Ἑρ[ωικὸν.....<sup>9</sup>.....ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τ]-  
 οῖς Εὐ[.....<sup>34</sup>.....]  
 ΗΡΛ[.....<sup>36</sup>.....]  
 style="text-align: center;">*lacuna*

## Col. I

*lacuna*

[.....<sup>28</sup>.....]σιάδης Ὀνησο *b*  
 25 [.....<sup>25</sup>.....]νο]τό ή δδὸς ή εἰς Α  
 [.....<sup>24</sup>.....]φέρουσα-----τὸ ἐργαστήριον τὸ  
 [.....<sup>27</sup>.....]ώνη-----]ίδης Σίμο Π[αι]α-  
 [νι.....<sup>19</sup>.....]Υ[. . ἀπ]εγράψατο μέταλ-  
 [λον.....<sup>14</sup>.....]ωι ἐν Τ[. . .]ΗΛΑΚΟΥΝΤΙ Θεοδο  
 30 [.....<sup>15</sup>.....τ]ῶι Δι[ο]κλέους Σουნი ὦι γεί] βο-  
 [ρρά ή δδὸς ή ἀπὸ Θρασ]ύμου Μ[α]ρ[ών]αζε φέρουσα ν[ο]τό  
 [.....<sup>8</sup>.....ἐργαστήρ]ιο[ν πρὸς] ήλίο ἀνιόν Ἀρεσίας  
 [.....<sup>6</sup>.....πρὸς ήλίο δυ]ο ή δδ[ὸ]ς ή ἀπὸ Θρασύμο ἐπὶ Σού-  
 [νιον φέρουσα ὦνη. .]Σ[. . .] Ἐπικλέους Σφήττιος Η[.]  
 35 [.....<sup>19</sup>.....]ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον Κ[.]  
 [.....<sup>14</sup>.....ἐν τοῖς] ἐδάφεσι [τ]ο[ῖ]ς Ἀρισ[. . .]  
 [.....<sup>24</sup>.....]Λ[.....<sup>14</sup>.....]  
*lacuna*

## Col. II

*lacuna*

[.....<sup>34</sup>.....]ΝΑ[. . .] *c*  
 [.....<sup>32</sup>.....]ου ἀπὸ [ . . ]  
 40 [.....<sup>21</sup>.....πρὸς ήλίο ἀ]νιόν ή ἀκρ[.]  
 [.....<sup>27</sup>.....ὦ]νη Ἀμεινία[ς Φ]-  
 [ιλίνο Σουნი . . .<sup>7</sup>.....μέταλλον Ἀ]φροδισιακὸν ἐ[ν]  
*b* το[ῖς] ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς. . .<sup>7</sup>.....ὦι γεί βορ Δημοφίλ[ο]  
 [.]ΟΟ[.....<sup>20</sup>.....ὦνη] Πολύμνηστος Θ[ε]-  
 45 ομν[ή]στο .....<sup>19</sup>.....]δης Θεοτίμο ἐξ [Ο]-  
 ἱ[ο] μέ[ταλλον ἀπεγράψατο στήλην] ἔχον ἀνασάξιμ[ο]-  
 ν [ . .]Λ[.....<sup>10</sup>.....ὦι γεί βορ Λυσικ]ράτης Κικυν ν[ο]-  
 τ[ό] Σα[.....<sup>22</sup>.....ή] δδὸς ή ἐπὶ Λαύ[ρ]-  
 ειον [φέρουσα πρὸς ήλίο δυ. . .]μων πρὸς ήλίο[ν]  
 50 ἀνιόν.....<sup>17</sup>.....ὦνη Εὐδ[ρ]ά[ων Εὐδράον]-  
 ος Θο[ρίκι. . .<sup>7</sup>.....μέταλλον ἀνασάξι]μον Νυμφαι-  
 κὸν σ[τήλην ἔχον. . .<sup>9</sup>.....ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφ]εσιν το[ῖ]-  
 ς Αὐτ[.....<sup>34</sup>.....ή]  
 χαρά[δρα ή.....<sup>31</sup>.....]  
 55 ο Κυθ[ηρρ.....<sup>32</sup>.....]  
 [ . .]Ρ[.....<sup>36</sup>.....]  
*lacuna*

## Col. I

*lacuna*

[.....<sup>36</sup>.....]κλή- *d*  
 [s.....<sup>35</sup>.....]ΘΟΚ  
 [.....<sup>34</sup>.....]Αἰ]γίλ  
 60 [.....<sup>34</sup>.....]ἀπ]εγρ-

[άψατο. . . . .<sup>31</sup> . . . . .]ΙΣ [.]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>37</sup> . . . . .]ΛΟ  
 [ . . . . .<sup>38</sup> . . . . .]Π  
*lacuna*

## Col. II

*lacuna*  
 [ . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . .]ΙΣ[ . . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . .]μαχος ΛΛ[ . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .]  
 65 [ . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . .]ς 'Ερχ[.]ΗΗ Βησαι Χαιρέας Αισχ[. . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .μέταλλο]ν ἀπεγράψατο Βήσησιν 'Απολλων[ιακ]-  
 ὄν [στήλην ἔχ]ον ἀνασάξιμον ὧι γεί βορ Καλλίου [ἐρ]-  
 γαστήριον ν]οτό 'Ανδρίου χωρίου καὶ πρὸς ἡλίου[ν ἀ]-  
 [ἐρ]γαστήριον[ν]  
 ν[ιόν. . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . . .] ὠνη Διότιμος Μνησιστράτο 'Αχαρ[ν.]  
 70 [ . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . .]ῶρο Πόρι ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλο[ν στ]-  
 ἡλην ἔ[χον Βήση]σιν ἀνασάξιμον 'Αθηναϊκὸν ἐν [τοῖ]-  
 ς ἐδάφ[εσιν τοῖς] 'Επιζήλο Φρεαρρί ὧι γεί βορ κα[τα]-  
 τομή τ[. . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . .]ακοῦ μετᾶλλο νοτό τὸ 'Αρτεμ[ίσι]-  
 ον τὸ ἐν . . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . .]ν καταβαίνοντι πρὸς ἡλίου[ν ἀν]-  
 75 ιόν τὸ ἐργαστήριον] τὸ Φιλοκράτους Εὐδ[υνυμ ἡλίο]-  
 [ν] δυο ἐργαστήριον 'Επιζήλου Φρεαρ[ρί ὠνη. . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . . .]  
 [.]ς 'Ολυμπ[. . . . .<sup>32</sup> . . . . .]  
*lacuna*

*lacuna*  
 [ . . . . .<sup>28</sup> . . . . .]ΚΛΗ[. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . .] *e*  
 [ . . . . .ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον 'Αθ]ηναϊκὸν [ . . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . .]  
 80 [ . . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . .] ἡργηκὸς ὧι γεί βορ. . . . .  
 [ . . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . .]νοτό 'Αν]δρίο κάμινος π[ρὸς ἡλίο ἀ]-  
 νιόν. . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . . .] ἐργαστήριον πρὸς ἡλίο δ[υο. . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . . .]  
 [←-----<sup>19</sup>-----→] ὠνη-----]άτους 'Οἷθεν ΗΠ[. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .]μέταλ]λον ἀπεγράψ[ατο. . . . .]  
 85 [ . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .]ἐν τῷι λόφωι τῷι Β]αμβιδεί[ωι. . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>29</sup> . . . . .]ΑΛ[. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . .]  
*lacuna*

## Col. I

## Col. II

*f*

*lacuna*  
 [ . . . . .<sup>39</sup> . . . . .] ΕΜΟΥ[. . . . .<sup>29</sup> . . . . .]ἀπεγρά]-  
 [ . . . . .<sup>38</sup> . . . . .]Λ ψατο μ[έταλλον . . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . . .]ἐν]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>38</sup> . . . . .]Τ τοῖς ἐ[δάφεσιν τοῖς . . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . . . .]ὧι γεί βορ]  
 90 [ . . . . .<sup>38</sup> . . . . .]Ο 'Επιθέ[του . . . . .<sup>31</sup> . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>38</sup> . . . . .]Α ΟΔΗΜΟ[. . . . .<sup>34</sup> . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>38</sup> . . . . .]Ι πρὸς ἡλ[ίο ἀνιόν . . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . .]πρὸς ἡλίο]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>38</sup> . . . . .]Α δυο ἐργ[αστήριον . . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>38</sup> . . . . .]Ψ ΛΩΝΟ[. . . . .<sup>35</sup> . . . . .]  
 95 [ . . . . .<sup>38</sup> . . . . .]Τ ΡΡΙ[. . . . .<sup>36</sup> . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>39</sup> . . . . .]ΕΟ[. . . . .<sup>37</sup> . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>39</sup> . . . . .]Ω[. . . . .<sup>38</sup> . . . . .]  
*lacuna*



Line 5 [βορ Πύρρακος (?) Αἰγίλ νοτ] Crosby. Lines 25–26 Α[ὕλωνα (?) φέρουσα πρὸς ἡλίου δυο τὸ ἐ] Crosby. Line 31 Μ[α]ρώναζε Crosby, but questioned by J. Labarbe, *La loi navale de Themistocle*, Paris 1957, p. 25, note 1. With him I do not see the omega or nu, but the rho may be read, dotted. The vertical hasta is preserved, but the loop is chipped away. Line 42 [Βήσησι μέταλλον Ἀ]φροδισιακόν Crosby. Line 43 [ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς Ἐπιζήλο] or [ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς Καλλίο] Crosby. Lines 76–77 [ὥνη Θεόδωρ][ο]ς Ὀλυμπ[ίχου Μελι] Crosby.

In lines 51–56 Crosby may be correct in identifying the mine with the Nymphaikon of P24, lines 2–8 and restoring here

Νυμφαι-  
κὸν σ[τήλην ἔχον Μαρωνείαι (?) ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφ]εσιν το[ῖ]-  
ς Αὐτ[οφάντου ὧι γεί βορ χωρίον Λυσιθείδου καὶ ἡ]  
χαρά[δρα ἡ] . . . . .<sup>19</sup> . . . . . νοτό Αὐτοφάντ]-  
ο Κυθ[ηρρ ἐργαστήριον πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν Διοφάνο]-  
[υς]

**P14.** Four fragments of Hymettian marble, three of which join, found in the Kerameikos in the winter of 1909/10. Both pieces preserve the fine-picked top surface and uninscribed back but are otherwise broken.

a: H. 0.23 m.; W. 0.10 m.; Th. at top 0.107 m., at bottom 0.089 m.

b: H. 0.093 m.; W. 0.13 m.; Th. 0.106 m.

Letter height on both fragments 0.004 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.007 m.

Ed. J. Kirchner, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1583. Cf. W. Peek, *AM* 67, 1942, p. 16, no. 14; M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 220–221, no. 7.

ca. a. 350/49 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

a

15

6

7

8

5

7

8

10

7

7

7

8

15

9

9

9

6

8

8

25

7

6

Ποτ]αμί: ἐργασ[τήριον

[-----...NTIΛAN[-----]  
 [-----7...II[-----]  
*lacuna*

*lacuna*

b 30 [-----...νε: τῆς οἰκία[s -----]  
 [-----ὠικοδ]ομημένα ἐν τῶ[ι -----]  
 [-----...κα]λουμένην ἥ γ[ -----]  
 [-----...τῶν ἐ]ρανιστῶν τῶν μ[ -----]  
 [-----...ο[.] ἐγ Κολλυτ: ο[ -----]  
 35 [-----7...s Θορίκι: νο[ -----]  
 [-----8...]τούτων τῶν [ -----]  
 [-----12...ου ἐν τ[ -----]  
 [-----9...N[.]IONΦ[ -----]  
 [-----8...καὶ [.]Φ[.]H[ -----]  
 40 [-----...ἐν]επίσκημ[μα -----]  
 [-----9...YΣ[ -----]  
*lacuna*

Line 4 [πε]ρίστυλ[ο--] Kirchner; [᾽Α]ριστύλ[ο--] Peek, Crosby. Line 11 [ἐ]ρ[γ]α[στήριον?] Peek. Line 12 [ἐ]δά]φη Kirchner; [---]φή[μου Φ]ελλ[εύς ?] Peek. Lines 32–33 γ[είτων τὸ κοινὸ]ν τῶν ἐ]ρανιστῶν Kirchner. Lines 39–40 καὶ [ὦ]φ[λ]η[κότος τῶι δημοσίῳ]---] | [ἐ]δοξε δὲ ἐν]επίσκημ[μα εἶναι---] Crosby.

On the basis of her restorations of lines 25–27 Crosby calculated a line of 39 or 40 letters, depending on the form of the abbreviations used:

[...7...]: νοτ: Σιμύλο[ν ἐργαστήριον πρὸς ἡλίου]  
 [ἀνιόν: ἡ] ὁδὸς ἡ Βήσαζε [φέρου: πρὸς ἡλίου δύο: Σιμ]-  
 [ύλου Ποτ]αμί: ἐργασ[τήριον ὦν η: ...13–14...]

**P15.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (E.M. 7960) broken on all sides, found on the eastern part of the Akropolis.

H. 0.13 m.; W. 0.12 m.; Th. 0.048 m.; L.H. 0.005 m.; stichedon, with a square checker of 0.007 m.

Ed. U. Koehler, *IG* II 2, Addendum, 782 b; J. Kirchner, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1584. Cf. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 221–222, no. 8; Eliot, *Coastal Demes*, p. 102.

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*lacuna*  
 [-----15...ἐὺς [ -----]  
 [-----11...᾽Αφρο]δισιακ: Ε[ -----]  
 [-----10...ὦ]ι γείτ: πρὸ[s ἡλίου -----]  
 [-----9...ου εἰς ᾽Ανάφλ[υστον-----]  
 5 [-----6...ἐργα]στήριον τὸ Νικι[ -----]  
 [-----...κα]ὶ τὸ ἐργαστήρι[ον τὸ -----]  
 [-----...νοτ]όθ: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐξ Αὐ[λῶνος -----]  
 [-----...ὦν η] ᾽Αντίμαχος ᾽Αλωπε[κῆθεν -----]  
 [-----6...ἀπ]εγράψατο μέτα[λλον-----]  
 10 [-----στήλην ἔχ]ον Διονυσια[κὸν -----]  
 [-----8...ν Λυσικράτο]υς -----]  
 [-----9...ν ᾽Αφροδισ]ιακὸν -----]  
 [-----10...πρὸ[s ἡλίου ἀ]νιόν-----]  
 [-----12...᾽Ηφαι]στιακ[ὸν -----]  
 15 [-----14...]: ΑΠ[ -----]  
 [-----15...YΛ[ -----]  
*lacuna*

**P16.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 5749) preserving the smooth back but otherwise broken, found in a modern wall west of the Panathenaic Way opposite the Eleusinion (R 21), on March 30, 1939.

H. 0.19 m.; W. 0.18 m.; Th. at top 0.061 m., at bottom 0.054 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.006 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 222–223, no. 9, photograph pl. 85; *SEG XXVIII*, 123.

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lacuna

[-----<sup>27</sup>.....]ΦΟΣ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>25</sup>.....]ς ὠνητή[ς-----]  
 [-----<sup>20</sup>.....Νι]κοδήμου Α[-----]  
 [-----<sup>9</sup>.....μέταλλον παλα]ῖον ἀνασάξι[: -----]  
 5 [-----<sup>16</sup>.....ἐν] τοῖς ἐδάφε: τοῖς -----]  
 [-----<sup>17</sup>.....]σιακὸν στήλην ἔ[χον -----]  
 [-----<sup>11</sup>.....]ον καλούμενα ἐδάφ[η-----]  
 [-----<sup>14</sup>.....]ς: χωρία πρὸς ἡλί[ου-----]  
 [-----<sup>7</sup>.....ὠνητῆς] Κηφισόδωρος Ἀθμο[νεὺς -----]  
 10 [-----<sup>13</sup>.....]ος Λουσιεὺς μέτ[αλλον ἀπεγράψατο -----]  
 [-----παλαιὸν ἀ]νασάξι: στήλην [ἔχον -----]  
 [-----ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφ]ε: τοῖς Νικίου Θο[ρικίου ὦι γεί: βορ:-----]  
 [-----<sup>11</sup>.....] Σμίκυθος Θορίκ[ιος-----]  
 [-----<sup>8</sup>.....νοτ]ό: ἡ ἀτραπὸς ἡ ἐπὶ [-----]  
 15 [-----παρὸς ἡλί]ου δυομέ: Ἀρχεστ[ράτου -----]  
 [-----ὠνητῆς Πο]λύευκτος Σφήττ[ιος -----]  
 [-----<sup>12</sup>.....]ς Ἀμφιτροπῆθ: ἀπ[εγράψατο μέταλλον -----]  
 [-----παλαιὸν ἀνα]σάξι: Ἑρμαι[κὸν -----]  
 [-----ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφε: τοῖς] Τεισάνδ[ρου-----]  
 20 [-----<sup>19</sup>.....]ΙΟΝΕΙΟ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>23</sup>.....]Ε[-----]  

lacuna

Line 3 Ἀ[θμονε:] Crosby. Lines 4–6 [---μέταλλον παλα]ῖον ἀνασάξι: καὶ ἐπικατ[|[ατομήν Θορικ: ἐν] τοῖς ἐδάφε: τοῖς] Ἑπαμείνον[|[ος Θορι: Ἀρτεμ]σιακὸν Crosby. Lines 13–14 Θορίκ[: πρὸς ἡλίον ἀν: χαρ][[ἄδρα (?) νοτ]ό: ἡ ἀτραπὸς ἡ ἐπὶ [.....ἄγουσα] Crosby. Line 15 Ἀρχεστ[ράτου ἐργαστήριον] Crosby. Line 18 Ἑρμαι[κὸν στήλην ἔχον] Crosby.

**P17.** Two non-joining fragments from a stele of bluish Hymettian marble (I 870 a, b). Fragment *a* was found on March 2, 1935, in a Hellenistic context southwest of the Tholos (F 12). Fragment *b* was found on May 26, 1933, built into the wall of a late pit east of the Tholos (H 11:1). Fragment *a* preserves the left side and *b* the bottom and complete width and thickness of the stele.

*a*: H. 0.11 m.; W. 0.095 m.; Th. 0.025 m.; L.H. 0.007 m.

*b*: H. 0.855 m.; W. 0.485 m.; Th. 0.105 m.; L.H. 0.007 m.

*a, b*, stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.012 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 185–187, no. 32, photographs pp. 185–186.

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*a* [.]ΟΜ[.....<sup>36</sup>.....]  
 [.]ΚΟΛ[.....<sup>34</sup>.....]  
 [β]ορρᾶθ[εν.....<sup>31</sup>.....]  
 [.]ΕΚΑΙΠΕ[.....<sup>32</sup>.....]  
 5 [Περ]γασῆ[θεν.....<sup>29</sup>.....]  
 [.....]δωρον[.....<sup>31</sup>.....]

[...]των τ[...<sup>32</sup>...]  
 [...]Τ[...<sup>33</sup>...]

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*b* [...] <sup>7</sup>... ]ΕΝ[...]Ο[...<sup>26</sup>...]  
 10 [...]Ο[... ]ΗΣΙ[... ]ΙΤΩΝ[...<sup>24</sup>...]  
 [...]ΔΕΙΟΙΡΩ[... ]Ο[... ]Ε[... ]ΗΙ[...<sup>23</sup>...]  
 [Γλ]αυκίππου Θυ[μα]τα[δέως...<sup>18</sup>...]  
 [...]ΗΣ[... ]ΥΛ[... ]ΟΣ[... ]ΙΣΤΟΔ[...<sup>22</sup>...]  
 Ξενοκλέος [Μελ]ιτέως Ο[...<sup>16</sup>... ]ἡ γεί-  
 15 των βορράθεν ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ δη[μοσία...<sup>15</sup>...]  
 καὶ οἰκόπεδον Μελιτέων πρὸς [ἡ]λ[ί]ο[ν ἀνιόν...]  
 Μικίων μέτοικ[ος ἡλίο δ]νομένο δέ Σω[...<sup>10</sup>...]  
 ΕΠΠΙΚΙΝΕΚ[...<sup>7</sup>... ]ΑΤ[...<sup>9</sup>... ]Ἀν[α]γυρ[α...<sup>9</sup>...]  
 ΚΑΤΗΡ[... ]ΕΥΕ[... ]Κ[... ]αλλισθ[ένου...<sup>10</sup>... ]φικη[...<sup>10</sup>...]  
 20 ἀπέγ[ρα]ψεν Ξ[ε]νοκλέος [Μ]ε[λι]τέως οἰκ[ί]αν καὶ χωρί-  
 ο[ν] καὶ [κ]λισίον ἐμ Μελί[τη]ι ἡ γείτων βορρά[θεν...]  
 Η[... ]Ο[... ]νοτόθεν δέ τ[ὸ οἰκ]όπεδον τὸ δημόσιον [...]  
 Ε[... ]πόλοχος Χα[... ]Τ[... ]ΕΣΑΝΠΔ[...<sup>6</sup>... ]ΑΠΕ[...]  
 [...]ΔΔΔΠΗΗ<sup>υυ</sup>[... ἐπὶ τῆς] Αἰγῆδος [...<sup>6</sup>...]  
 25 [οἱ δὴμ]αρχοὶ ἀπέγ[ρα]ψαν...<sup>6</sup>... ]ΟΣΕΡΕ[... ]Ο[...<sup>6</sup>...]  
 [...] <sup>6</sup>... ]ΟΒΙΟΑΓΡ[...<sup>12</sup>... ]ΑΚΟΝΤΑ[...<sup>8</sup>...]  
 [...] <sup>6</sup>... ]σιν ἡ γεί[των βορράθεν...<sup>14</sup>...]  
 [...] <sup>6</sup>... ]ος νοτόθ[εν...<sup>12</sup>... ]ΕΛ[...<sup>11</sup>...]  
 [...] <sup>7</sup>... ]ΧΟΣΝΙ[...<sup>14</sup>... ]ΗΟ[...<sup>11</sup>...]  
 30 [...] <sup>6</sup>... ]ο ΔΔΔΗ<sup>υυ</sup>[...<sup>13</sup>... ]ΤΕΘ[...<sup>10</sup>...]  
 [ἀπέγρ]αψεν [...]Ι[...<sup>12</sup>... ]ρεὺς [...<sup>10</sup>...]  
 [...] <sup>7</sup>... ]Σ[...<sup>19</sup>... ]Α[... ]ΔΙ[... ]Ε[...]  
 [...] <sup>6</sup>... ]ΟΡΑ[...<sup>18</sup>... ]Ι[...<sup>11</sup>...]  
 [...] <sup>6</sup>... ]Σ[...<sup>32</sup>...]

*lacuna*

**P18** (Pl. 9). Two joining fragments of a stele of Pentelic marble (I 865 + 7359), preserving only the inscribed face. The former fragment was found on May 25, 1933, in the wall of a late pit east of the Tholos (H 11:1), the latter fragment on March 23, 1972, in buttress II of the Late Roman Round Building north of the Athens-Piraeus railway (J 5). In the second half of the 2nd century after Christ the back of the stele was used for a prytany dedication.

H. 0.565 m.; W. 0.47 m.; Th. 0.085 m.; L.H. 0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.006 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 272–274, no. 25, photograph pl. 95 (I 865 only). The text of the mining leases of I 7359 is unpublished. The reverse face of I 7359 is published by J. S. Traill, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, p. 311, no. 32. Crosby's text is reproduced in *SEG XXVIII*, 132.

a. 350/49 a.

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Col. I

*lacuna*

[...<sup>35</sup>... ὦν]η: Αμ  
 [...] <sup>32</sup>... ]ΛΟΝΚΑΙΝΟΝ  
 [...] <sup>16</sup>... μέταλλον καὶ] κατατομήν ἐν τῇ  
 [...] <sup>25</sup>... ὦ]ι γεί: βορ: Ἀντιχα  
 5 [...] <sup>25</sup>... ]ου Σουνη: χωρίον [...]

- [.....<sup>24</sup>.....]: χωρίον καὶ τὸ μέτα[λ]-  
 [λον.....<sup>14</sup>..... πρὸς ἡ]λίου δυο: Εὐάγγελ[ος] Σο-  
 [νυ:.....<sup>17</sup>.....] Ἀντιγένους Κεφα[λ]ῆ[θε]ν:  
 [... ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον Ἑ]φαιστιακὸν ὧι γεί: βορ  
 10 [...<sup>21</sup>.....]οτίων Κικυν: ὦνη: Κ[αλ]λ  
 [...<sup>21</sup>.....]Θο]ρικοῖ Ἀφροδισιακ[ὸν] ἐ-  
 [ν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς.....<sup>6</sup>.....]λου ὧι γεί: βορ: Δημοφ  
 [...<sup>24</sup>.....] Συβρι: ὦνη: Ξενοκλῆ-  
 [s.....<sup>17</sup>.....] ἐπὶ Σου]νίωι Ἀρτεμισιακὸν ἐ  
 15 [...<sup>25</sup>.....]: νοτό: Θεόδημος Πρ  
 [...<sup>24</sup>.....]ο: ὦνη: Χαρίας Ἱερων  
 [...<sup>11</sup>.....]ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς] ἐπὶ Θουδήμου ἄρχον-  
 [τος.....<sup>17</sup>.....]μέταλ]λον ἀπεγράψατο ἐργ-  
 [άσιμον.....<sup>16</sup>.....]Βήσ]ησιν ὧι γεί: πρὸς ἡλ-  
 20 [ίου ἀνιό:.....<sup>17</sup>.....]ιακὸν μέταλλ[ο]ν νοτ-  
 [ό:.....<sup>15</sup>.....]πρὸς ἡλίω]ν δυο: λόφος [...]ισακ  
 [...<sup>23</sup>.....]μέτα]λλο]ν τὸ Δημοκιδε  
 [...<sup>27</sup>.....]φ]έρον: Βήσηθεν ὦ-  
 [νη:.....<sup>25</sup>.....]Ἦ: ἐργάσιμον στ-  
 25 [ῆλην ἔχον.....<sup>9</sup>.....]ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσ]ιν τοῖς Πρωτοκ-  
 [λέους.....<sup>22</sup>.....]νοτ]ό: Κλεοκριτο  
 [...<sup>31</sup>.....]ΟΙ[.....<sup>6</sup>.....]ΧΛ  
 [...<sup>33</sup>.....]Ν[.....]Φ  
 [...<sup>34</sup>.....]s ἐπὶ [...]Ι  
 30 [...<sup>36</sup>.....]ΟΠΣΤΗ  
 lacuna

## Col. II

- lacuna  
 [...<sup>18</sup>.....]Ο[.....]Ε[.....<sup>17</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>20</sup>.....]Δ[.....]ΜΗΣΗΣ[.....<sup>10</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>19</sup>.....]Ο[.....]Ρ[.....]Ε[.....<sup>14</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>7</sup>.....]ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσι]ν τοῖς Ἱππίσκ[ου.....<sup>8</sup>.....]  
 35 [...<sup>21</sup>.....]ὧι γ]εί: β[ο]ρ[.....<sup>10</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>17</sup>.....]ΟΝ[.....]ΔΙ[.....]ΤΑΚ[.....<sup>11</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>16</sup>.....]ΤΡΟΔ[.....]ΟΣΙ[.....]Ο[.....<sup>13</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>16</sup>.....]ΚΟΣΑ[.....<sup>7</sup>.....]ΠΙ[.....<sup>13</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>15</sup>.....]ΝΕΝ[.....<sup>8</sup>.....]Ε[.....<sup>14</sup>.....]  
 40 [...<sup>12</sup>.....]ὧι γ]εί: νοτό[.....]ΟΣ[.....<sup>12</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>15</sup>.....]ΟΣ[.....]Ε[.....]ν προ[.....<sup>12</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>24</sup>.....]ΜΚΤ[.....<sup>14</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>22</sup>.....]s Ἐλεν[.....<sup>14</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>14</sup>.....]ι: Φρε[.....]ΑΝΑΦ[.....<sup>14</sup>.....]  
 45 [...<sup>13</sup>.....]Ο[.....]ΔΟ[.....]Ο[.....]ΑΝΑ[.....]Μ[.....<sup>12</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>41</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>11</sup>.....]πρὸς ἡ]λ[ί]ου ἀ[νιόν:.....<sup>15</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>6</sup>.....]πρὸς ἡλίου] δυομέ: [...<sup>6</sup>.....]ΗΡ[.....<sup>13</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>13</sup>.....]ης Φιλοχ[ά]ρου[s.....<sup>13</sup>.....]  
 50 [...<sup>13</sup>.....]ΟΝΟ[.....]ΙΕΝ[.....<sup>17</sup>.....]

- [.....<sup>15</sup>.....]ε[.] στήλην ἔχον Ε[.....<sup>13</sup>.....]  
 [... ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐκ Θορ]ικοῦ φέρουσα ἐπ[ι] Λαύρειον [...]  
 [ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐπὶ Θράσ]υμον φέρουσ[α ὦ]νη[.....<sup>13</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>12</sup>.....]:ι: ΗΠ[. [μ]έτα[λλον] Π[.....<sup>15</sup>.....]  
 55 [...<sup>10</sup>..... ἐ]π[ι] Θ[ρα]σύμω[ι] (ἐπὶ Θρ[ασύμωι].....<sup>9</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>12</sup>.....] ὦι γεί: βορρ: Φα[.....<sup>16</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>11</sup>..... Σ]ουნიῶς ἐδάφη πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιό: [...]  
 [...<sup>12</sup>.....]ων πρὸς ἡλίου δυ[ομέ:.....<sup>12</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>13</sup>.....]ΕΑΙ[.]ΤΟΥ[.]ΟΛ[.....<sup>18</sup>.....]  
 60 [...]ΙΟΟ[.....<sup>7</sup>..... ἀ]πεγράψετο μ[έταλλον .....<sup>10</sup>.....]  
 στήλην ἔχον [παλα]ῖον ἀνασάξ[ι: ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεισιν το]-  
 ῖς Δι[ο]κλέους [Σουν]ι: ὦι γεί: βορρ:.....<sup>12</sup>..... νο]-  
 τόθ: Κάλλαισχρο[ς] Σίφνι: πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιό:.....<sup>6</sup>.....]  
 Σουνι[>] πρὸς ἡλίου δυο]: ἡ ὁδὸς.....<sup>12</sup>..... ἐπὶ Σού]-  
 65 νιον φέρου: ὦνη: Φα[.....<sup>24</sup>..... μ]-  
 ἔτα[λ]λον ἐμ Μαραθιτη[.....<sup>20</sup>..... στήλ]-  
 ην ἔχον ὦι γεί: βορρ: Ο[.....<sup>18</sup>..... δ ἡργάξ]-  
 ετο Διονύσιος Ἀχαρ[ν:.....<sup>23</sup>.....]  
 οκράτους καὶ μέτα[λ]λον.....<sup>22</sup>.....]  
 70 ς Ἀγγε: νοτό: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ Β[ή]σαζε φέρουσα.....<sup>11</sup>.....]  
 ην πρὸς ἡλίου δυο: ἐ[ργ]ασ[τήριον].....<sup>9</sup>..... ἐργαστ]-  
 ῆριον Ἀρχενέ[>] Παια[ν:] ΡΑ[.....<sup>22</sup>.....]  
 ην: Μεταγειτνῶνο[ς. ]ε[.....<sup>22</sup>.....]  
 ς Σουνι: μέταλλον ἀπεγράψατο.....<sup>14</sup>..... Ἀν]-  
 75 αφλυστοῖ ἐν τῷ ΕΛΛΩΙ: [.....<sup>20</sup>..... ἐσ]-  
 χατιὰ νοτ: ΑΦΕΣΤΡΑΥΜΕΣ[.]ΑΤΑ[.....<sup>21</sup>.....]  
 ἱερὸν ὦνη[>] Ἀρχέστρατος [.]ε[.....<sup>19</sup>..... Γ]-  
 αμηλιῶνος δεκάτη ἰσταμ[ένου. ....<sup>16</sup>.....]  
 δου Περγα: ἀπεγράψατο [μέταλλον .....<sup>14</sup>.....]  
 80 ων πάγωι Νυμφαῖκον Δ[.]Π[.....<sup>22</sup>.....]  
 δειον νοτό: Κεφάλαιον ΙΟ[.....<sup>19</sup>..... ε]-  
 ῖς λιμένα φέρουσα πρὸς[ς] Ν[.....<sup>21</sup>.....]  
 ς Κεφαλῆθ: ὦνη: Καλλιμά[χος].....<sup>18</sup>.....]  
 ἐκ τῶν στηλῶν ἐκ τῆς στη[λ]ης τῆς ἐπὶ Ἀγαθοκλέους ἄρ]-  
 85 χοντος Πολυκλῆς Ετ[.]ο[.....<sup>12</sup>..... μέταλλον ἀπε]-  
 γράψατο Θορικοῖ παλα[ι]ὸν ἀνασάξιμον.....<sup>10</sup>.....]  
 [:] στη[λ]ην ἔχον Ἀκαμά[>]τιδ[ον].....<sup>20</sup>.....]  
 ΑΚΓ[.]Ε[.....]εσι ὦ[>] γεί: βορρ[:.....<sup>18</sup>..... μέ]-  
 ταλ[λον. .]νώνειον πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνι: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐπὶ Θράσ]-  
 90 [υ]μον [ἀπὸ] Θορικοῦ φέρου[σα πρὸς ἡλίου δυο: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀ]-  
 [πὸ] Θορικοῦ εἰς Μαρωνεῖ[αν φέρουσα .....<sup>13</sup>.....]  
 δου Κικυν: ὦνη: Φ[.....<sup>27</sup>.....]  
 Ε[.....]άδης ΙΜΕΙ[.....<sup>29</sup>.....]  
 [.]Ο[.]...ΟΙΔ[.]...ΝΥ[.....<sup>29</sup>.....]  
 95 [τ]οῖς [Θ]ορικό[ις. ....<sup>28</sup>.....]  
 [ὦι γ]εί: νοτό[:.....<sup>24</sup>..... πρὸς ἡλ]-  
 [ί]ο[υ] δυο: Ἐπ[.....<sup>32</sup>.....]

*lacuna*

The letter cutter made several mistakes: line 66, *lapis* ETANAON; line 72, *lapis* APXENEPIAIA; line 87, *lapis* AKAMATIΔ; line 88, *lapis* ΕΣΙΩΓΕΙ, perhaps [βήσ](>η)σι ὦ(>ι) γεί:. Punctuation marks were omitted in lines 64 and 77, and line 76 is not stoichedon, as 23 letters and a punctuation mark occupy 20 stoichoi.

In line 2 [---μέταλ]λον καινόν is tempting but unparalleled. Of the kappa only the vertical hasta is preserved at the left side of the stoichos. Line 49 is possibly [Φιλωνιδ]ης Φιλοχ[ά]ρου[ς] Ἀφ[ι]δν: ---]. Only one son of Philochares is known, Kleonymos, a lessee in P26, line 222, but the father of Philochares was Philonides. Cf. the stemma in Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, p. 556, no. 14892. Line 75 is to be read τῶι Ἐλα(ῖ)ωι, Ἐλα(ῖ)ῶ(ν)ι, *vel sim.*

The length of line is either 41 or 43 letter spaces, depending on which abbreviations are used in lines 89–90, ἀνι: and δυο: or ἀνιόν: and δυομέ: and whether in line 61 ἀνασάξιμα is written out in full or abbreviated ἀνασάξι:. Line 84 helps us to choose. The context there is παλαιὰ ἀνασάξιμα mines which are being renewed from the stele of an archon whose name is missing. With a line of 43 letters the only possible candidate is Themistokles, archon in 347/6. The stele would then date to 340/39, since this type of mine was let for a period of seven years (cf. p. 60 above). With the shorter line any of several names may be restored, but the best candidate is Agathokles, archon in 357/6. The stele would thus date to 350/49. This is confirmed by the fact that we know from whose stele the ἐργάσιμα mines were being renewed, that of Thoudemos, archon in 353/2 (cf. line 17). This class of mines was leased for three years, so once again 350/49 is the year that emerges. Thus the shorter line allows the restoration of line 84 which gives an exact correspondence of due dates for both longer and shorter leases. An ἐργάσιμον mine from the stele of Thoudemos may also be treated in P20, lines 6 ff., but there is no conflict with the present stele. An ἐργάσιμον mine was not necessarily leased again immediately upon expiration of the old lease. A period of years could easily pass before a renewal was made.

For some unknown reason mining leases are here dated by the civil calendar (lines 73, 77–78). The prytany calendar normally governed mining leases, the civil calendar the sale of confiscated properties. For a summary of the evidence, see Rhodes (footnote 5 above, p. 58), p. 228.

The text was probably arranged in three columns, and all the leases in Col. I and some of those in Col. II were presumably made in the first prytany. Not until line 73 is there a lease dating from Metageitnion, presumably in the second prytany, and that is immediately followed by leases in mid-year, beginning with one on the tenth of Gamelion (lines 77–83). This supports Crosby's argument (*Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 192) that the majority of leases were made in the first prytany and that a few others were made throughout the rest of the year. Transactions involving confiscated properties could have occupied much of Col. III.

**P19.** Two non-joining fragments of white marble very probably from the same stele. The smooth-picked top and unscribed back are preserved.

*a:* Two joining pieces, the left-hand one (I 6263) found in January 1950 in the long Late Roman wall east of the Panathenaic Way (N 7–O 9), the right-hand one (I 4580) on March 3, 1937, in a modern cellar wall west of the central part of the Stoa of Attalos (P 10).

H. 0.214 m.; W. 0.23 m.; Th. 0.093–0.094 m.; L.H. heading 0.006 m., text 0.004 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 270–272, no. 24, photograph pl. 95 (I 4580 only); *Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 10–13, no. S4, photograph pl. 3 (I 4580 + 6263); *SEG XVI*, 125.

*b:* Fragment (I 6168) broken on all sides, found on May 2, 1949, built into a Late Roman wall east of the Panathenaic Way and south of the Athens-Piraeus railway (O 8).

H. 0.163 m.; W. 0.162 m.; Th. 0.091 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.

*a, b*, stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.006 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 13–15, no. S5, photograph pl. 1; *SEG XVI*, 126. Cf. Eliot, *Coastal Demes*, pp. 87–88.

*a.* 346/5 *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*a* [-----ἐπὶ] Ἀρχ[ι]ίου ἄρχ[οντ]ος πραθέ[ντα] -----]  
[-----]ρβον Ἑρμε[ι: Λ]εωσθέν[η]ς[-----]  
[-----Θρα]συμήδης Λ[υ]σιμάχου [-----]

Col. I

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----ὠνη: ----- Πα]λλη: XXXI<sup>π</sup>  
5 [----- ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφ]εσιν τοῖ-  
[ς-----ὦι γέι: βορρᾶ: ----- Σο]νυ: νο-  
[τό -----] Παια-  
[νυ: ----- ἐν τ]οῖς  
[ἐδάφ]εσιν τοῖς -----]

*lacuna*

## Col. II

*lacuna*

10 Ε[ρμ]αικὸν ἐπ[ι]-----  
 [. . Σ]φήττι: ὦ[ι γεί: βορρά: -----  
 [νοτό]: ὁ λόφος [-----  
 [. . . . .]ῆτ: ἐρ[γαστήριον -----  
 [. . . . .]ον φέ[ρουσα -----  
 15 [. . . . .]ΛΙ[-----

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*b* [-----21]ΟΛ[-----  
 [-----13]Ἀμφιτρ[οπήσιν [-----  
 [-----15]νοτό: Φιλιπ[-----  
 [-----14]ῆς Μαραθ: ὦνη: Αἰ[-----  
 20 [-----12]Γ: μέταλλον παλαιὸν [ἀνασάξιμον -----  
 [-----10]ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς Να[-----  
 [-----ὦι γεί: βορρ: ἡ] χαράδρα ἡ ἀπὸ Λαυρεῖο[υ -----  
 [-----9]πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνι: ἡ αὐτὴ νοτό[:-----  
 [-----11]πρὸς ἡλίου δυο: Εὐβουλο[-----  
 25 [-----9]ὦνητ[ῆς Κτησίας Εὐαγίδο[υ Φιλα: -----  
 [-----15]ου Θορίκι: μέταλ[λον ἀπεγράψατο -----  
 [-----15]παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον ὦι γεί: βορρ:-----  
 [-----16]ῆττος νοτό[:-----  
 [-----6]πρὸς ἡλίου δυο: Σμικυθο[-----  
 30 [-----19]ΤΤΡΡΡ: [-----  
 [-----18]Δι[ονυσ[ι-----

*lacuna*

Line 1 [μέταλλα καὶ δημόπρωτα τὰ ἐπὶ] Ἀρχ[ίου ἄρχ[οντος] πραθέ[ντα] πωληταί ----] Crosby. Line 2 [Ἀτά]ρβον A. M. Woodward *apud SEG*. Lines 12–13 ὁ λόφος [πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνι: μέταλλον (?) δ-----] [. . . . . Φ]ῆγ: ἐρ[γάζεται] πρὸς ἡλίου δυο: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ -----] Crosby. Line 12 τοῖς Να[υσικλέους (?)] Crosby. Line 22 ἀπὸ Λαυρεῖο[υ ἐπὶ Θάλινον (?)] Crosby; [ἐπὶ θάλατταν] Eliot.

Crosby gave the fragments separate numbers but noted the possibility that they belong together. Considerations of the marble and lettering make this possibility probable, and so the fragments are put under one number here. Crosby's objection that the letter phi is distinctly different on the two stones is overstated. The phis are not so differently shaped as to exclude an association of the fragments.

**P20.** Twenty-one fragments of an opisthographic stele of Hymettian marble. Five were found in ancient contexts: *d* (I 1750 h + 2968) on May 10, 1935, in the foundation packing of the Augustan Fountain House at the southwest corner of the Bouleuterion Plateia (G 11); part of *j* (I 1750 f) on July 22, 1936, in a classical context about one meter northwest of the Tholos (G 11); *m* and *n* (I 1869 a, b) on April 25, 1934, in the Roman screen wall around the Bouleuterion Plateia (F 11). The remaining fragments were found in late or disturbed contexts in the area of the porch of the Bouleuterion (F 10–11, G 11): *a*, *f*, *g*, *i*, *k*, *l*, *o*, and *s* during April and May, 1934; *b* on May 27, 1937; *c* on May 11, 1935; *e*, *h*, the other part of *j*, *p*, *q*, and *r* on May 4, 1935.

Unless otherwise stated the fragments preserve only the inscribed face.

*a*: Opisthographic fragment (I 1750 a) preserving part of the original right side of Face A, left side of Face B.  
 H. 0.335 m.; W. 0.14 m.; Th. 0.115–0.117 m.

*b*: Opisthographic fragment (I 1750 j).  
 H. 0.19 m.; W. 0.129 m.; Th. 0.115 m.

*c*: Fragment (I 1750 i).  
 H. 0.066 m.; W. 0.05 m.; Th. 0.045 m.



*d*: Two joining fragments (I 1750 h + 2968).

H. 0.105 m.; W. 0.082 m.; Th. 0.013 m.

*e*: Fragment (I 1750 g) composed of two joining pieces.

H. 0.045 m.; W. 0.071 m.; Th. 0.05 m.

*f*: Two joining fragments (I 1807 b + 1940) preserving the original left side.

H. 0.097 m.; W. 0.063 m.; Th. 0.043 m.

*g*: Fragment (I 1854).

H. 0.084 m.; W. 0.055 m.; Th. 0.012 m.

*h*: Fragment (I 1750 b).

H. 0.034 m.; W. 0.137 m.; Th. 0.073 m.

*i*: Fragment (I 1959).

H. 0.027 m.; W. 0.023 m.; Th. 0.09 m.

*j*: Fragment (I 1750 f) composed of two joining pieces and preserving the original right side.

H. 0.19 m.; W. 0.129 m.; Th. 0.115 m.

*k*: Fragment (I 1855).

H. 0.046 m.; W. 0.066 m.; Th. 0.02 m.

*l*: Fragment (I 1807 a).

H. 0.075 m.; W. 0.069 m.; Th. 0.014 m.

*m*: Fragment (I 1869 a).

H. 0.034 m.; W. 0.03 m.; Th. 0.059 m.

*n*: Fragment (I 1869 b).

H. 0.061 m.; W. 0.016 m.; Th. 0.026 m.

*o*: Fragment (I 1944) preserving the original left side.

H. 0.043 m.; W. 0.034 m.; Th. 0.007 m.

*p*: Fragment (I 1750 c).

H. 0.044 m.; W. 0.072 m.; Th. 0.004 m.

*q*: Fragment (I 1750 d).

H. 0.024 m.; W. 0.052 m.; Th. 0.036 m.

*r*: Fragment (I 1750 e).

H. 0.04 m.; W. 0.054 m.; Th. 0.025 m.

*s*: Fragment (I 1937).

H. 0.052 m.; W. 0.093 m.; Th. 0.041 m.

Letter height on all fragments 0.004–0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.007 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 226–236, no. 13, photographs pls. 86–88.

# Face A

*inter a. 350/49 et 345/4 a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 32

## lacuna

- a* [.....<sup>26</sup>.....]H[.....]  
 [.....<sup>24</sup>.....]HΛ[.....<sup>6</sup>]  
 [.....<sup>23</sup>.....]μο αρ[.....]  
 [.....<sup>23</sup>.....]ασι: [.....]  
 5 [.....<sup>22</sup>.....]στρά[τ]ου Α[..  
 [.....<sup>9</sup>..... ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐπὶ Θο[υ]δ[ήμ]-  
 [ου ἄρχοντος .....<sup>13</sup>.....]ΛΟ[.]ΛΩ[..  
 [.....<sup>11</sup>..... μέταλλον ἐργά]σιμον [..  
 [.....<sup>25</sup>.....]: πρὸ[s] ἧ[λ]-  
 10 [ίου ἀνιόν: τὸ μέταλλον τὸ Διον]υσια[κόν]

- [πρὸς ἡλίου δυομέ: . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . κά]μιν[ος. .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . . .] καὶ [. .]H[. .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . . .]IO[. . .]Σ[.]  
 [. . . . .<sup>32</sup> . . . . .]  
 15 [. . . . .<sup>29</sup> . . . . .]ΟΣΦ  
 [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . . παλ]αῖον Φρ  
 [. . . . .<sup>24</sup> . . . . .] ἐν τοῖς ἐδ-  
 [άφεσιν τοῖς . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . .]ς Φρεαρρ: ὦι γεί  
 [βορρᾶ: . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . .]ρον νοτόθ: ὁ λόφος  
 20 [. . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . . ὁ ἡργάσ]ατο Κηρυκίδης ἐκ Κο-  
 [λων: . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . . Διο]πείθ[ης] Διοκλείδο-  
 [υ Φρεαρρ: . . . . . ἀνασά]ξιμ[ο]ν στήλην ἔχο-  
 [ν . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . . ἐν τοῖς ἐδά]φει[ς]ν τοῖς Πρω-  
 [. . . . .<sup>24</sup> . . . . .]άνης Ἐρχι  
 25 [. . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . . ἐργαστή]ριον καὶ σ  
 [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . . ἡ χ]αράδρα ἡ  
 [. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .] ὁ ἡργάζ-  
 [ετο. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . . .]α: ὦν-  
 [η: . . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .] ἐκ τ[.]

*lacuna*

Face B

*lacuna*

- 30 [. . .]P[. . . . .<sup>28</sup> . . . . .]  
 H[. . . . .<sup>31</sup> . . . . .]  
*lacuna of eight lines*  
 40 IE[. . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . . ὦι γεί: βο]-  
 ρρᾶ[. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . . . . Σ]-  
 ουνι[. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . . . .]  
 έους Σουνι[. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .]  
 ου Παιανι: [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .]  
 45 δώρου Παιανι: Δ[Δ: . . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . .]  
 s Κεφαλή: ἀπ[ε]γρ[άψατο μέταλλον παλαιὸ]-  
 ν ἀνασάξιμο[ν . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . . ἐν τοῖς ἐδά]-  
 [φ]ε[ς]ιν το[ῖς] I[. . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .]

*lacuna*

Face A

*lacuna*

- b* [. . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .]IΦΡΑ[. . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . .]  
 50 [. . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . .]: ἡργ[ά]ζετο . . . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . .] ἐργα[στήριον . . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . Σο]υνι: ἐργα[στήριον . . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . .]ης Κηφισοκ[λέους . . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . .]ακὸν ἐ[π]ῖ Θ[ρασύμωι . . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . . ἐν τοῖς]  
 55 [ἐδάφ]εσιν <τοῖς> Ἄνδ[. . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .]δου κάμ[ινος . . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . . .]IΔΡΟ[. . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . . .]IMH[. . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .]

*lacuna*

## Face B

*lacuna*

- [...<sup>7</sup>...]: Ο[...<sup>23</sup>...]  
 60 [...<sup>6</sup>...]Ν[...<sup>22</sup>...]  
 [... ἡλί]ου δυομ[έ...<sup>18</sup>...]  
 [... ὦ]νη: Ἀγνόθ[εος...<sup>16</sup>...]  
 [... ]λος Φειδί[π]ον Πιθ: μέταλλον ἀπεγ-  
 [ράψ]ατο ἐπὶ Σουνί[ωι παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον]  
 65 [Ἄρ]τεμισιακὸν στ[ήλην ἔχον ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφ]-  
 [εσι]ν τοῖς Εὐαγγέ[λου...<sup>15</sup>...]  
 [. Δι]οφάνης Σου[ν]ι[:...<sup>17</sup>...]  
 [... ]πρὸς ἡλίου ἀν[ιόν]:...<sup>14</sup>...]  
 [πρὸ]ς ἡλίου δυομ[έ]:...<sup>13</sup>... ὦνη:]  
 70 [... ]λος [Φειδίππου Πιθ:...<sup>12</sup>...]  
 [... ]Ο[...<sup>26</sup>...]

*lacuna**lacuna*

- c* [...<sup>13</sup>...]Σ[...<sup>18</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>12</sup>...]ε: πρὸ[ς ἡλίου ἀνιόν: μέτ]-  
 [αλλον ὃ ἡργάζ]ετο Φαι[...<sup>9</sup>... δυομέ:]  
 75 [ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ Λα]υρίου ἐ[πὶ...<sup>13</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>9</sup>...]Εἰ[ρεσί: Δ[Δ:...<sup>13</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>9</sup>...]ἀ[νασάξιμον...<sup>13</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>8</sup>...]Ἀμφ[ιτροπ[...<sup>16</sup>...]

*lacuna**lacuna*

- d* [...<sup>10</sup>...]Ι[...<sup>21</sup>...]  
 80 [...<sup>10</sup>...]ΩΙ[...<sup>20</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>10</sup>...]ΝΔ[...<sup>20</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>10</sup>...]ΙΟΥ[...<sup>19</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>12</sup>...]Α[...<sup>19</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>13</sup>...]Γ[...<sup>18</sup>...]  
 85 [...<sup>7</sup>...]ν Εὐωνυ: μ[έταλλον ἀπεγράψατο]  
 [ἐπὶ Σουνί]ωι ἐν τ[ο]ῖς [ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς...]  
 [... Σου]νι: ὦι γεί: [βορρά:...<sup>10</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>10</sup>...]Κόνων Α[...<sup>16</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>12</sup>...]ε: ἡρ[...<sup>16</sup>...]  
 90 [...<sup>13</sup>...]ΧΙΔ[...<sup>16</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>14</sup>...]Ν[...<sup>17</sup>...]

*lacuna**lacuna*

- e* [...<sup>7</sup>...]νι: Ν[...<sup>21</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>7</sup>...]ο Φαιδρ[ο...<sup>18</sup>...]  
 [... ]Η: Κηφισο[...<sup>19</sup>...]  
 95 [...<sup>6</sup>...]: παλαι[ὸν ἀνασάξιμον...<sup>8</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>8</sup>...]ΣΑΛΕ[...<sup>20</sup>...]  
 [...<sup>11</sup>...]Ν[...<sup>20</sup>...]

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*f* [.]ΑΛ[. . . . .<sup>28</sup>. . . . .]  
 [.]λν: Π[. . . . .<sup>26</sup>. . . . .Γ]-  
 100 [α]ργητ[τ: . . . . .<sup>25</sup>. . . . .]  
 θεν ὦνη[: . . . . .<sup>24</sup>. . . . .Φ]-  
 εἰδιππ[ος Φαύλλον Πιθεὺς ἀπεγράψατο μ]-  
 έταλ[λον. . . . .<sup>25</sup>. . . . .]

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*g* [-----, . . . .]Ι[.]: Ι[-----]  
 105 [-----, . . .]Σ]ουνι: [-----]  
 [-----, . . .]ο: ὦνη[:-----]  
 [-----, . . .]ΗΗΠ: μ[έταλλον-----]  
 [-----, . . .]ΙΑΣΤΑΣ[-----]  
 [-----, . . .]της νοτ[όθεν ή όδός ή-----]  
 110 [-----, φέρ]ουσα πρ[ὸς ήλίον-----]  
 [-----έργασ]τήριο[ν-----]

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*h* [ . . . . .<sup>24</sup>. . . . .]Η[. . . . .<sup>7</sup>. . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>17</sup>. . . . .]κὸν στηλήην ἔχον [ . . .]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>22</sup>. . . . .]Κτησικ<λ>ῆς Ο[.]  
 115 [ . . . . .<sup>29</sup>. . . . .]ΣΦΑ  
 [ . . . . .<sup>29</sup>. . . . .]: ΔΔ<sup>v</sup> Γ  
 [ . . . . .<sup>30</sup>. . . . .]ΟΥ

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*i* [-----]ΙΟ[-----]  
 [-----]ΛΙ[-----]  
 120 [-----]ΟΧ[-----]

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*j* [ . . . . .<sup>25</sup>. . . . .]ΩΝΗΟ[. . .]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>24</sup>. . . . .] τῶν χωρίω-  
 [ν . . . . .<sup>23</sup>. . . . .]ας καὶ του  
 [ . . . . .<sup>25</sup>. . . . .]Γ[.]ΣΤΗΝΙΙ  
 125 [ . . . . .<sup>23</sup>. . . . .] χρ]ηματίσα-  
 [ι . . . . .<sup>24</sup>. . . . .]ησαντος  
 [ . . . . .<sup>ca. 24</sup>. . . . .]μηθεν Λεξ  
 [ . . . . .<sup>ca. 24</sup>. . . . .]εου ἀλόντ-  
 [ος . . . . .<sup>ca. 20</sup>. . . . .]ἐπὶ Ἀριστοδ-  
 130 [ήμου ἄρχοντος . . . . .<sup>12</sup>. . . . .]τωι: Χ: ει  
 [ . . . . .<sup>ca. 26</sup>. . . . .]ον τῶν Τ  
 [ . . . . .<sup>ca. 28</sup>. . . . .]ΜΑΝΕ  
 [ . . . . .<sup>ca. 31</sup>. . . . .]Σ

*lacuna*

*lacuna*  
*k* [-----<sup>12</sup>-----]ZO[-----]  
 135 [-----<sup>8</sup>-----]Θ]ουκλῆς [-----]  
 [-----, μέταλλο]ν Ἀρτεμ[ισιακὸν]-----  
 [-----ἐν τοῖς ἐδ]άφε[σιν τοῖς]-----  
*lacuna*

	Col. I	Col. II
	<i>lacuna</i>	
<i>l</i>	[..... <sup>31</sup> .....]X	A[..... <sup>31</sup> .....]
	[..... <sup>30</sup> .....]ΙΩ	ME[..... <sup>30</sup> .....]
140	[..... <sup>31</sup> .....]Α	ΕΛ[..... <sup>30</sup> .....]
	[..... <sup>31</sup> .....]Ρ	ΧΟ[..... <sup>30</sup> .....]
	[..... <sup>31</sup> .....]Θ	Ο[..... <sup>31</sup> .....]
	<i>lacuna</i>	

	<i>lacuna</i>	<i>lacuna</i>
<i>m</i>	ΜΩ[..... <sup>30</sup> .....]	<i>n</i> [---]Υ[-----]
	: ΟΔ[..... <sup>29</sup> .....]	[---]Ρ[-----]
145	<sup>υ</sup> βορ[ρᾱ:..... <sup>26</sup> .....]	[---]Μ[-----]
	ΙΣ[..... <sup>30</sup> .....]	150 [---]Σ[-----]
	<i>lacuna</i>	[---]Ι[-----]
		[---]Κ[-----]
		[---]ΔΩ[-----]
		<i>lacuna</i>

	<i>lacuna</i>	<i>lacuna</i>
<i>o</i>	<sup>υ</sup> Σ[..... <sup>31</sup> .....]	<i>p</i> [---]ἡλίου ἀ]νιό[ν: ---]
155	ΤΧ[..... <sup>30</sup> .....]	[---...] <sup>υ</sup> ς Σφ[ηττ ---]
	<i>lacuna</i>	[---...] <sup>υ</sup> ς ΑΝΣ[-----]
		<i>lacuna</i>

	<i>lacuna</i>	<i>lacuna</i>
<i>q</i>	[-----]ΡΗ[-----]	<i>r</i> [..... <sup>30</sup> .....]ΟΚ
160	[-----]ΕΓ[-----]	[..... <sup>30</sup> .....]Σ[.]
	<i>lacuna</i>	<i>lacuna</i>

*lacuna*  
*s* [-----<sup>8</sup>-----] Ὁῆθ: [-----]  
 [-----<sup>6</sup>-----] ἀν]ασάξι[μον -----]  
 165 [-----...]<sup>υ</sup>ον ᾧ γεί: β[ορρᾱ: -----]  
 [-----νοτ]ό: ἡ χαράδρ[α -----]  
 [-----...]<sup>υ</sup>ον ᾧ νη: [-----]  
 [-----...]<sup>υ</sup>ΣΟΛ[-----]  
*lacuna*

In line 18 the final two letters do not occupy one letter space as Crosby stated; the iota is inscribed in the margin. Lines 19–20 [βορρᾱ: ..... ἰε(?)]ρὸν νοτόθ: ὁ λόφος |[ὁ Βαμβίδεος δ ἡργάσ]ατο Crosby, *Hesperia* 26, 1957, p. 9. Lines 42–45 ουνι[: ἐργαστήριον ἡλίου ἀνιόν: Διοκλ]|έους Σουνι[: χωρίον πρὸς ἡλίου δυο: Σίμ]|ου Παιανι: [ἐργαστήριον ᾧ νη: Σίμος Διο]|δώρου Παιανι: Δ[Δ: Λυσάνιας Λυσικλέου] Crosby. Line 54 Θ[ρασύμωι ἀνασάξι:] Crosby. Line 55 τοῖς *omisit lapid*. Lines 63 and 70 [Δίφι]λος or [Φαύλ]λος Crosby. Line 86, *lapid* ΤΩΙΣ. Line 114, *lapid* ΚΤΗΣΙΚΗΣ. Lines 136–137 Ἀρτεμ[ισιακὸν ἐπὶ Θρασύ]| [ωι] Crosby.

As noted by Crosby, Face B of fragments *a* and *b* show marks of a toothed chisel. The inscribed faces of fragments *c*, *g*, *i*, *j*, *m*, and *n* also exhibit such chisel marks, and they may tentatively be assigned to Face B of the stele. The remaining fragments are too damaged to allow assignment to either face.

There are irregularities in the checker pattern, especially in lines 127–133, where the pattern is followed only at the ends of the lines. The letters preserved at the left break are not aligned with the checker pattern above, and at least one stoichos seems to be missing from these lines. Similar anomalies may occur elsewhere. So, in line 64 the restoration [παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον] seems secure, although it gives a line of 33 letters, and in line 74 Davies (*Athenian Propertied Families*, p. 525) plausibly suggests Φαῖ[δρος Σφήττι:], although it too gives a line with one too many letters.

**P21.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (E.M. 7961) preserving the smooth top surface and the left side, found on the south slope of the Akropolis.

H. 0.24 m.; W. 0.25 m.; Th. 0.095 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.007 m.

Ed. U. Koehler, *IG* II, 782; J. Kirchner, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1585. Cf. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 223–224, no. 10; S. Lauffer, “Prosopographische Bemerkungen zu den attischen Grubenpachtlisten,” *Historia* 6, 1957 (pp. 285–305), pp. 295–296, no. 4.

*paullo post med. saec.* IV *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 37

lacuna

[.....<sup>36</sup>.....]’Α]-  
ναφλ[υστ.....<sup>30</sup>.....]  
φιλος[.....<sup>25</sup>.....]ή δδδς ή ε]-  
ις Αὐλῶνα φέρ[ουσα.....<sup>17</sup>.....τὸ μέτ]-  
5 [α]λλον τὸ Ἄρτεμισι[ακὸ]ν δ [ἡργάζετο Εὐθύδικος]  
[M]νησιθέου Σφήττιος ὠνητ[ῆς.....<sup>14</sup>.....]  
[.]χου Σφήττιος: ΗΠ: Χαιρ[.....<sup>16</sup>.....]  
[.]ὺς μέταλλον ἀπεγράψατ[ο.....<sup>15</sup>.....]  
[στή]λην ἔχον Κτησιακὸν Βή[σησιν ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφε]-  
10 [σιν τ]οῖς Ἐπιχάρους ὦι γείτων [βορρᾶθεν.....]  
[.]νο]τόθεν ή δδδς ή Βήσαζε φέ[ρουσα.....<sup>8</sup>.....]  
[.....<sup>8</sup>.....δ]λόφος δ ἡργάζετο Χ[.....<sup>13</sup>.....]  
[.....<sup>10</sup>.....]ὠνητῆς Ὑπερείδη[ς Γλαυκίππου Κο]-  
[λλυτεὺς ὠνητῆ]ς Αἰσχυλίδης Δ[.....<sup>13</sup>.....]  
15 [.....<sup>12</sup>.....]ης Δικαιοκρά[τους.....<sup>10</sup>.....]  
[.....<sup>12</sup>.....]στράτου Γαργ[ήττιος μέταλλον]  
[ἀπεγράψατο Ἀπο]λλωνιακὸν [.....<sup>15</sup>.....]  
[.....<sup>7</sup>.....ἐν τοῖς ἐ]δάφεσιν τ[οῖς.....<sup>12</sup>.....]  
[.....<sup>7</sup>.....ὦι γείτων ή]λίο[v] δ[υομένου.....<sup>9</sup>.....]

lacuna

Lines 15–16 [Ἄρχη][ἐστρατος Φανο]στράτου or [Φαν][όστρατος Ἄρχε]στράτου Lauffer; [Ἐπίλυκος Νικο]στράτου Kirchner. Line 18 [Βήσησιν (?) ἐν τοῖς ἐ]δάφεσιν Kirchner.

In lines 8 and 17 Kirchner restored [παλαι ἀνασάξιμον], and Crosby [παλαιὸν ἀνασάξι:]. Both variants may be doubted because there is no other certain use of an abbreviation in this text, or in **P22**, which probably belongs with it. I do not see the pi read by Kirchner at the end of line 17 (his line 16). The lacunae could just as well be filled by [καὶ ἐπικατατομήν] *vel sim.*

**P22.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 1879) broken on all sides, found on April 27, 1934, in a late context west of the Tholos (F 11).

H. 0.11 m.; W. 0.082 m.; Th. 0.027 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.006 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 224, no. 11, photograph pl. 86.

*paullo post med. saec. IV a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

5 [-----<sup>8</sup>.....]YP[-----]  
 [-----<sup>8</sup>.....]ιος Ο[-----]  
 [-----<sup>7</sup>.....]ης Δημ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>6</sup>.....]: Διοφαν[-----μέταλλον ἀπεγράψατο-]  
 [-----<sup>8</sup>.....]παιδὸν ἀν[ασάξιμον -----]  
 [-----<sup>8</sup>.....]ἐπὶ Θ[ρασύμωι [-----]  
 [-----<sup>8</sup>.....]ῶι γείτων β[ορρᾶθεν -----]  
 [-----<sup>8</sup>.....]νοτόθ[εν Κόνων [-----]  
 [-----<sup>8</sup>.....]ῆ ὁδ[ὸς ἡ εἰς [-----φέρουσα -----]  
 10 [-----<sup>7</sup>.....]ν Ἀνα[-----]  
 [-----<sup>8</sup>.....]ΧΑ[-----]

*lacuna*

This fragment probably belongs to the same stele as P21.

**P23.** Two non-joining fragments of Hymettian marble from the same stele. Both preserve only the inscribed face. The larger piece (I 4870) was found on May 19, 1937, the smaller piece (I 4930) on June 5, 1937, both in a late Roman disturbance on a Classical floor to the southeast of the propylon of the Tholos (H 11). Both pieces show similar signs of reworking.

*a*: H. 0.058 m.; W. 0.085 m.; Th. 0.02 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.

*b*: H. 0.037 m.; W. 0.065 m.; Th. 0.015 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.

*a, b*, stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.007 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 224–225, no. 12, photograph pl. 86.

*paullo post med. saec. IV a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

*a* [-----<sup>16</sup>.....]EIT[-----]  
 [-----<sup>15</sup>.....]ον ἀνα[σάξι -----]  
 [-----<sup>12</sup>.....]αικὸν Ε[-----]  
 [-----<sup>9</sup>.....]Εὐω]νυμ: ὦι γε[ί -----]  
 5 [-----<sup>8</sup>.....]πρὸς ἡλίον ἀ[νιόν -----]  
 [-----<sup>8</sup>.....]νοτόθεν Χα[ρ -----]  
 [-----<sup>8</sup>.....]ἐργαστήριον Σίμου Πα[ιαν: -----]  
 [-----<sup>8</sup>.....]ν[.]ου Παλλ[ην: -----]

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*b* [-----<sup>12</sup>.....]Δ[.]ΟΙΣ[-----]  
 10 [-----<sup>8</sup>.....]πρὸς ἡλίον ἀ[νιόν -----]  
 [-----<sup>8</sup>.....]ἡλίον δυο]μέ: Διοφ[-----]

*lacuna*

**P24.** Two fragments of an opisthographic stele of Hymettian marble. Fragment *a* (I 2639 *a*) consists of two joining pieces found on March 21 and 22, 1935, in a modern wall east of the north part of the Odeion (N 9). Fragment *b* (I 3738) was found on March 12, 1936, in a marble pile west of the Odeion. Fragment *a* preserves an original side, the left on Face A, the right on Face B, but is otherwise broken. Fragment *b* is broken on all sides but does make a textual, though not a physical, join with Face A of fragment *a*.

*a*: H. 0.20 m.; W. 0.279 m.; Th. 0.128 m.; L.H. 0.004–0.005 m.

*b*: H. 0.218 m.; W. 0.11 m.; Th. 0.073 m.; L.H. 0.004–0.005 m.

a, b, stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.007 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 236–240, no. 14, photographs pl. 89. Cf. Eliot, *Coastal Demes*, p. 85.

## Face A

ca. a. 345/4 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 40

*lacuna*

- a
- [. . . . .]: Φιλίνου ἐργασ[τήριον ὦνη: . . . . .<sup>12</sup>. . . . .]  
 [. . .]του Θυμαιτά: ΔΔ: μέ[ταλλον παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμ]-  
 [ον] Νυμφαϊκὸν στήλην ἔχ[ον . . . . .<sup>9</sup>. . . . . ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφ]-  
 [ε]σιν τοῖς Αὐτοφ(ά)ντου [ῶι γεί: . . . . .<sup>16</sup>. . . . .]  
 5 θείδου καὶ ἡ χαράδρα ἡ [. . . . .<sup>22</sup>. . . . .]  
 [. . .]Ἀὐτοφάντου Κυθή[ρρ: ἐργαστήριον πρὸς ἡλίου]  
 [ἀν]ιόν: Διοφάνους Γ[αργηττ: -----<sup>17</sup>----- ὦνη -----]  
 [. . .]οφῶν Ξενοκλέους Ι[. . . . .]: Δ[Δ: . . . . .<sup>11</sup>. . . . . μέταλ]-  
 λον ἀνασάξιμον Ἡρ[ωικ]ὸν στή[λην ἔχον ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφ]-  
 10 εσιν τοῖς Τιμησί[ου Σ]ουσι: ο(ῖ)ς [γεί: βορρά: . . . . .]  
 ου Παιανι: ἐργαστήριον νοτόθ[. . . . .<sup>14</sup>. . . . .]  
 ἐργαστήριον πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν[. . . . .<sup>14</sup>. . . . .]  
 πρὸς ἡλίου δυο[μέ: . . . . .<sup>6</sup>. . . . .]ΟΧ[. . . . .<sup>13</sup>. . . . . ὦνη:]  
 Πανσίστρατο[ς . . . . .<sup>28</sup>. . . . .]  
 15 οκλέους Πιθε[. ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον παλαιὸν ἀν[α]-  
 σάξιμον στήλ[ην ἔχον . . . . .<sup>12</sup>. . . . . ἐπὶ Σο]υνίωι ἐ-  
 ν τοῖς ἐδάφε[σιν τοῖς . . . . .<sup>14</sup>. . . . .] ῶι γεί: βορ  
 χωρία Διοχ[άρους νοτόθ: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ Μα]ρωνείου εἰ-  
 s Πάνορμ[ον φέρουσα . . . . .<sup>15</sup>. . . . .] ἐργαστήρ[.]  
 20 πρὸς ἡλίου δυομέ: . . . . .<sup>16</sup>. . . . .]ον τιμή: Δ[Δ]  
 [. . .]Σ[. . . . .<sup>17</sup>. . . . . ἀπεγράψατο] μέταλλον [. . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>31</sup>. . . . .]ι στήλην ἔ[χ]-  
 [ον. . . . .<sup>29</sup>. . . . .]νε: ῶι γεί[.]  
 [βορρά: . . . . .<sup>24</sup>. . . . .]ος Σουσι: π[ρ]-  
 25 [ὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν: . . . . .<sup>13</sup>. . . . .]ἐργαστήριον δυο[.]  
 [μέ: . . . . .<sup>23</sup>. . . . .]ἐργαστήριον τ[. . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>29</sup>. . . . .]ρι: ἀπεγρά[ψα]-  
 [το μέταλλον . . . . .<sup>16</sup>. . . . .]Ἀθη]ναϊκὸν στή[λη]-  
 [ν ἔχον ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς Λεωχά]ρου[ς] Κοπρε[ί: ῶ]-  
 30 [ι γεί: βορρά: . . . . .<sup>10</sup>. . . . .]ἐργαστή]ριον Λεωχάρ[ου]-  
 [ς . . . . .<sup>25</sup>. . . . .]Λεωχάρους: π[ρὸς]  
 [ἡλίου. . . . .<sup>10</sup>. . . . .] ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ. . . . .<sup>10</sup>. . . . .] φέρουσα τη[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>30</sup>. . . . .]ΗΝΑΓΟ[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>21</sup>. . . . .] ἐν τοῖς ἐδά[φεσιν τοῖς.]

*lacuna*

## Face B

*lacuna*

- 35 [. . . . .<sup>25</sup>. . . . .]Ο[. . . . .<sup>14</sup>. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>24</sup>. . . . .] πρὸς ἡλί[ου. . . . .<sup>7</sup>. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>24</sup>. . . . .]ησιστρατ[ο. . . . .<sup>7</sup>. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>17</sup>. . . . .]Ι[.]ΑΙΕΛΛΗΝΑΠΑΙΔΑΟ[. . . . .<sup>7</sup>. . . . .]



- [.....<sup>11</sup>..... τῶ]ι δημοσίῳ καὶ ἐκγεγραμμ[ένου. .]  
 40 [.....<sup>12</sup>..... Ε]ϋδῖος Μελιτ: Ἀρχίας Κόπρει[ι: . .]  
 [.....<sup>12</sup>..... τ]ῇ πόλει τὰ τρίτα μέρη τιμῇ τη[. . .]  
 [.....<sup>13</sup>.....] ὤνη: Διομέδων Διομνήστου Ἀχα[ρυν]  
 [.....<sup>7</sup>..... τάδε ἐπρ]άθη ἀθρό[ι]ας τῆς τιμῆς ἐπὶ τῆς Α[. .]  
 [.....<sup>14</sup>.....] πρυτανείας Μουνιχιῶνος δικα[σ]-  
 45 [τῇριον. . . . .<sup>10</sup>.....]ον κυρωτῆς *vacat*  
 [.....<sup>18</sup>..... Α]ἰγίλι: ἀπέγραψεν Καλλι[. .]  
 [.....<sup>22</sup>.....] καὶ οἰκίαν TOBIΩNEIO  
 [.....<sup>24</sup>.....]λίον ἔχουσιν ἵππος  
 [.....<sup>24</sup>.....] θ]υγατέρα τοῦ Βουτα  
 50 [.....<sup>24</sup>.....] ὦι] γείτ: βορράθε[ν.]

*lacuna*

Line 3 ἔχ[ον Μαρωνεῖαι] Crosby. Line 4, *lapis* ΑΥΤΟΦΩΝΤΟΥ. Lines 4–5 [χωρίου Λυσι(?)]|θείδου Crosby. Line 10, *lapis* ΟΣ. Lines 10–11 [βορρά: Διοδώρ(?)]|ον Crosby. Line 14 Πανσίστρατος Φιλιππίδου Αἰζω: . . : Διοχάρης Δι[ Crosby. Line 37 [Αἰν(?)]ησιστρατ[ο] Crosby. Lines 39–40 ἐκγεγραμμ[ένου ἐν]|[ἀκροπόλει: κ:] Crosby. Lines 43–44 Ἀ[ν]|[τιοχίδος ἐνάτης (or ὀγδόης)] Crosby. Line 45 [τὸ Παράβυστον Crosby. Lines 48–49 ἵππος|[τάσιον (?)] Crosby.

Crosby (*Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 16–17) suggested that the lease recorded in lines 27–34 involved the same Athenaikon mine as that in P32, lines 1–9, and she proposed the following for the present text:

- [η: ΔΔ: {.....<sup>21</sup>..... Μυρ]  
 [.....<sup>19</sup>..... Φρεάρ]ρι: ἀπεγρά[ψα]-  
 [το μέταλλον. . . . .<sup>16</sup>.....] Ἀθη]ναϊκὸν στή[λη]-  
 [ν ἔχον ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς Λεωχά]ρον[s] Κοπρεῖ[ου]  
 30 [ὦι γεί: πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν: ἐργαστή]ριον Λεωχ[ά]ρ[ου]-  
 [ς καὶ τὸ Ἡρώιον βορρ: τὰ ἐδάφη τὰ Λ]εωχάρους: π[ρὸς]  
 [ἡλίου δυο: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν] φέρουσα τῇ[ν Βησ]-  
 [αίων καὶ . . . . .<sup>7</sup>..... νοτόθ: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ εἰς τ]ὴν ἀγο[ρὰν τῇ]-  
 [ν Βησαιῶν φέρουσα τιμή: ΔΔ: (?). . . . .<sup>7</sup>.....] ΦΕΣ[. . . . .<sup>7</sup>.....]

**P25.** Six fragments of Hymettian marble probably from the same opisthographic stele. Fragment *a* is made up of three joining pieces, one of which was found on October 5, 1933, in a late wall over the south part of the Metroön (H 10), the second on March 9, 1934, in a late context north of the Tholos (G 11), and the third on February 5, 1935, in a modern wall east of the north part of the Odeion (N 10). Fragment *b* was found on March 22, 1935, also in a modern context east of the north part of the Odeion (N 9/10). Fragment *c* was found on April 18, 1934, in a late fill south of the Tholos (G 12); fragment *d* on May 29, 1934, in a marble dump in the area of the Tholos; and fragment *e* on March 16, 1934, in a Roman context over the floor of the Tholos (G 11).

*a*: Fragment (I 1095 + 2381) broken all around but preserving two inscribed faces.

H. 0.30 m.; W. 0.127 m.; Th. at top 0.119 m., at bottom 0.115 m.

*b*: Fragment (I 2639 b) with only one inscribed face preserved; otherwise broken.

H. 0.064 m.; W. 0.035 m.; Th. 0.04 m.

*c*: Fragment (I 631 b) broken on all sides and preserving only one inscribed face.

H. 0.049 m.; W. 0.065 m.; Th. 0.022 m.

*d*: Fragment (I 631 e) broken on all sides and preserving only one inscribed face.

H. 0.104 m.; W. 0.096 m.; Th. 0.06 m.

*e*: Fragment (I 1577) preserving one inscribed face but otherwise broken.

H. 0.075 m.; W. 0.15 m.; Th. 0.04 m.

Letter height on all fragments 0.004 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.007 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 240–244, no. 15, photographs pl. 90.

## Face A

inter a. 345/4 et 340/39 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

a [-----<sup>20</sup>-----]I[-----]  
 [-----<sup>19</sup>-----]ΣΘΕΟ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>16</sup>-----]το[ῑ]ς τῶν [-----]  
 [-----<sup>16</sup>-----]ΛΑΙ[.]ΧΡΟ[-----]  
 5 [-----<sup>16</sup>-----]Ρ[.]Λ[.]ΟΕΠ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>16</sup>-----]ν Ἀχα[ρ]ν: Ι[-----]  
 [-----<sup>16</sup>-----]μέταλλον [-----]  
 [-----<sup>8</sup>-----]ἐν τοῖς ἐ]δάφεσι τ[οῖς]-----  
 [-----<sup>7</sup>-----]πρὸς ἡλίου] ἀνιόν: Ι[-----]  
 10 [-----<sup>16</sup>-----]ς Σίφνι: [-----]  
 [-----<sup>16</sup>-----]λοκλέου[ς]-----  
 [-----<sup>16</sup>-----]ρει: ΗΡ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>16</sup>-----]ον ἐν τ[οῖς] ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς -----  
 [-----<sup>8</sup>-----]ῶι γεί:] βορρᾶ: [-----]  
 15 [-----<sup>14</sup>-----]Ν]ικηρατο -----  
 [-----<sup>15</sup>-----]ος Κ[α]λλ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>13</sup>-----]πρὸς ἡλίου ἀ]νιόν[:] ἐργαστή[ριον] -----  
 [-----<sup>13</sup>-----]: Βή[σ]ησι ἀνασά[ξιμον] -----  
 [-----<sup>12</sup>-----]ῶι γ[ε]ί:] βορρᾶ: Σ[-----]  
 20 [-----<sup>12</sup>-----]ος Π[α]iani: νοτό[:]-----  
 [-----<sup>7</sup>-----]πρὸς ἡλίου ἀν]ιόν: Ἀσπέτο[ν] Κυ[θηρρ:] -----  
 [-----<sup>7</sup>-----]πρὸς] ἡλίου [δυ]ομέ: ἐρ[γαστήριον] -----  
 [-----<sup>10</sup>-----]Ἀπόληξι]ς Κηφισοδότου Α[ῖθα] -----  
 [-----<sup>10</sup>-----]ν ἐν τοῖς [ἐ]δάφεσι[ν] τοῖς -----  
 25 [-----<sup>6</sup>-----]βορρᾶ: Διοχά[ρ]ης Πιθε[:] -----  
 [-----<sup>8</sup>-----]εἰ]ς Πάνορμο[ν] φέρου[σα] -----  
 [-----<sup>10</sup>-----]έον πρὸς ἡ[λί]ου δυ[ομέ:] -----  
 [-----<sup>10</sup>-----]Σουნიῶς σ[τή]λην ἔχ[ον] -----  
 [-----<sup>11</sup>-----]: ΗΡ[ᾶ]: μέτα[λλ]ο[ν] Β[ή]σησι -----  
 30 [-----<sup>12</sup>-----]ῶι γεί:] βορρᾶ: [-----]  
 [-----<sup>13</sup>-----]ὁ λόφος [-----]  
 [-----<sup>13</sup>-----]ρίας Αἰσ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>11</sup>-----]μέτ]αλλον Β[ή]σησι -----  
 [-----<sup>18</sup>-----]ΓΓ[-----]

*lacuna*

## Face B

*lacuna*

35 [-----<sup>16</sup>-----]ἐργαστ]ήριον [-----]  
 [-----<sup>21</sup>-----]λον τιμή[:]-----  
 [-----<sup>18</sup>-----]μέταλλον ἀπεγράψα]το Ἀναφλυ[στοῖ]-----  
 [-----<sup>18</sup>-----]παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον στ]ήλην ἔχον [-----]  
 [-----<sup>17</sup>-----]οῖς γεί:] βορρᾶ: [-----]  
 40 [-----<sup>17</sup>-----]ς Σφήττι: πρὸς [ἡλίου ἀνιόν:] -----  
 [-----<sup>14</sup>-----]πρὸς] ἡλίου δυομέ: Να[-----]  
 [-----<sup>13</sup>-----]Φείδιπ]πος Φαύλλου Πιθε[:] ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον -----  
 [-----<sup>18</sup>-----]ι παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον -----

[----- . . . . . στήλην ἔχον ἐν τοῖς] ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς Φ[-----]  
 45 [----- . . . . . ὦι γαί: βορ: Φεῖδιπ]πος Πιθ: νοτόθ[:-----]  
 [----- . . . . . <sup>6</sup> . . . . . πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν:] Νικήρατος Κ[-----]  
 [----- . . . . . <sup>22</sup> . . . . . ] Προσπάλ: τ[-----]  
 [----- . . . . . <sup>16</sup> . . . . . μέταλλ]ον ἀπεγράψατο -----  
 [----- . . . . . <sup>22</sup> . . . . . ] στήλην ἔ[χον -----  
 50 [----- . . . . . <sup>22</sup> . . . . . ] θοίνου Α[-----]  
 [----- . . . . . <sup>22</sup> . . . . . ] ηθεν [-----]  
 [----- . . . . . <sup>23</sup> . . . . . ] της [-----]  
 [----- . . . . . <sup>21</sup> . . . . . ] πρὸς ἡ[λίου -----  
 [----- . . . . . <sup>23</sup> . . . . . ] ΙΔΙ[-----]  
 55 [----- . . . . . <sup>24</sup> . . . . . ] Σ[-----]  
 [----- . . . . . <sup>24</sup> . . . . . ] Ε[-----]  
 lacuna

	lacuna		lacuna
b	[---. .]Ο[---]	c	[----- <sup>11</sup> . . . . .]ΗΣΙ[-----]
	[---. .]ΔΙ[---]		[----- <sup>10</sup> . . . . .]ην Δημο[-----]
	[---. .]ΑΚΟΝ[---]	65	[----- <sup>7</sup> . . . . .]πρὸς ἡλίου ἀν[ιόν: -----]
60	[---. .]ΑΕ ΙΣ[---]		[----- <sup>8</sup> . . . . .]Δει[ραδι: ΗΠ[-----]
	[---. .]ΕΙ Σ[---]		[----- <sup>8</sup> . . . . .]ἀνα]σάξιμον [-----]
	[---. .]Π[---]		[---. .]ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τ[οῖς -----]
	lacuna		lacuna
	lacuna		lacuna
d	[---. .]ἐν τοῖς] ἐδά[φεσιν τοῖς -----]	e	[---. .]ον νοτόθ[:] Η[-----]
70	[---. . . . .]μοκράτο[us -----]	75	[---. .]Α]αυρείου δυ[-----]
	[---. . . . .]πρὸς ἡλίου [-----]		[---. . . . . <sup>6</sup> . . . . .]: Μειδίας [-----]
	[---. . . . . <sup>9</sup> . . . . .]ΙΣΙΠΠ[-----]		[---. . . . . <sup>8</sup> . . . . .]ίθεος Φ[-----]
	[---. . . . . . . . .]: Εὐ[-----]		[---. . . . . <sup>10</sup> . . . . .]ΡΑ[-----]
	lacuna		lacuna

Line 11 [(?) Φι]λοκλέου[s] Crosby. Lines 28–29 ἔχ[ον ὦν]η: Διοχάρης Διοκλέου][s Πιθ: (?) Crosby. Line 44 τοῖς Φ[ειδίππου Πιθ:] Crosby. Line 46 Νικήρατος Κ[υδαντ:] Crosby. Lines 74–75 [ἐργαστήρι]ον νοτόθ[:] Η[. . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . . πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν][v: ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ Λ]αυρείου δυ[ομέ:] Crosby.

**P26.** Six fragments from an opisthographic stele of Hymettian marble. Fragment *a* was found on May 17, 1908, in the region of the Metroön and the temple of Apollo Patroös. Fragment *b* was found on April 2, 1934, built into the Roman screen wall around the Bouleuterion Plateia (F 10). Fragment *c* was found on May 16, 1933, in a late context directly east of the Tholos (H 11). Fragment *d* was found on April 19, 1934, in a late context about 20 meters south of the Tholos (G 12). Fragment *e* was found on April 12, 1934, in a Late Roman context about 45 meters south of the Tholos, outside the Agora square (F 14). Fragment *f* was found on March 20, 1934, in a modern wall over the central part of the Middle Stoa (L 13).

*a*: Fragment (E.M. 462) preserving two inscribed faces and an original side, the right on Face A, the left on Face B. H. 0.42 m.; W. 0.63 m.; Th. 0.09 m.

*b*: Fragment (I 1749) preserving two inscribed faces and an original side, the left on Face A, the right on Face B. H. 0.735 m.; W. 0.445 m.; Th. at top 0.09 m., at bottom 0.094 m.

*c*: Fragment (I 817) preserving two inscribed faces and an original side, the right on Face A, the left on Face B. H. 0.13 m.; W. 0.128 m.; Th. 0.094 m.

*d*: Fragment (I 1816) with only one inscribed face preserved, broken on all sides. H. 0.084 m.; W. 0.059 m.; Th. 0.053 m.

*e*: Fragment (I 1782) preserving only one inscribed face, broken on all sides.

H. 0.142 m.; W. 0.157 m.; Th. 0.03 m.

*f*: Fragment (I 1664) preserving only one inscribed face, broken on all sides.

H. 0.052 m.; W. 0.116 m.; Th. 0.055 m.

Letter height on all fragments 0.004 m.; Face A, stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.006 m.; Face B, stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.007 m.

Ed. *a*: G. P. Oikonomos, *AM* 35, 1910, pp. 274–322; J. Kirchner, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1582; *b*: B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 5, 1936, pp. 393–413, no. 10, photographs pp. 394–395; M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 246–248; *c*: B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 5, 1936, pp. 397, 400, 403, photographs pp. 396–397; *d–f*: M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 251–254, photographs pls. 91, 92.

## Face A

*a*. 342/1–339/8 *a*.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 39

## Col. I

*lacuna*

*b* ΣΑΦ[. . . . .<sup>9</sup>.]Δ[. . . . .<sup>26</sup>]  
 ΟΝΩΝΗΝΩ[. . . . .<sup>24</sup>]; νοτ[. . . . .<sup>24</sup>]. πα]-  
 [λ]αὶδν [ἀνασάξιμον . . . . .<sup>24</sup>]  
 [.]ΟΞΕΦΟ[. . . . .<sup>32</sup>]  
 5 [.]ΔΙΣ[.]Ε[. . . . .<sup>30</sup>]. π]-  
 ρὸς ἡλίο[υ ἀνιόν; . . . . .<sup>23</sup>]. πρὸ]-  
 ς ἡλίο[υ] δυο[μέ; . . . . .<sup>29</sup>]  
 ος; Μεγακλ[. . . . .<sup>31</sup>]  
 [.]Εὐωνυμ[. . . . .<sup>27</sup>]. μέταλ]-  
 10 λον ἀπε[γράψατο. . . . .<sup>26</sup>]  
 υ; ὦι γεί; [. . . . .<sup>33</sup>]  
 ΗΜΟΥ[.]ΛΟ[. . . . .<sup>30</sup>]. Σο]-  
 ννίωι Ν[. . . . .<sup>33</sup>]  
 Σουνίωι [. . . . .<sup>25</sup>]. ἐν τοῖς ἐ]-  
 15 δάφεισιν τοῖς [ . . . . .<sup>26</sup>]. ὦι  
 γεί; πρὸς ἡλίο[υ . . . . .<sup>27</sup>]  
 ΛΙΝΗΣ[ . . . . .<sup>34</sup>]  
 ΠΙΡΙΑΚ[.]ΙΤΟΕ[. . . . .<sup>29</sup>]  
 [.]Ρ; Δ[.]ΝΑΣ[ . . . . .<sup>30</sup>]  
 20 [.]Ρ[. . . . .<sup>35</sup>]  
 [.]ΑΣ[ . . . . .<sup>36</sup>]  
 ΜΕ[.]Υ[ . . . . .<sup>35</sup>]  
 ΕΙΣ[. . . . .<sup>36</sup>]  
 ΙΛΟ[. . . . .<sup>6</sup>]. α; [ . . . . .<sup>28</sup>]  
 25 ΙΠΠ[. . . . .<sup>36</sup>]  
 ΕΣ[. . . . .<sup>37</sup>]  
 ΧΑΡ[. . . . .<sup>36</sup>]  
 Ω[.]Ι[. . . . .<sup>36</sup>]  
 27 illegible lines  
 56 [.]ΦΑ[. . . . .<sup>33</sup>]  
 [.]ΙΣΝΟ; [ . . . . .<sup>28</sup>]. στήλην  
 ἔχον ΩΣΙΑ[. . . . .<sup>31</sup>]

ΙΣΠΑΝΟ[. . . . .<sup>33</sup>]  
 60 [.]σιακὸ[υ . . . . .<sup>32</sup>]  
 ΟΝΒΟΡ[. . . . .<sup>8</sup>]. ΑΝΟ[. . . . .<sup>23</sup>]  
 ΙΟΚΤ[. . . . .<sup>10</sup>]. Ο[. . . . .<sup>24</sup>]  
 [.]ΡΑΣ[. . . . .<sup>35</sup>]  
 [.]Β[. . . . .<sup>36</sup>]  
 65 ΤΟΤΑ[. . . . .<sup>35</sup>]  
 [. . . . .<sup>13</sup>]. Ε[. . . . .<sup>25</sup>]  
 [.]ΡΑΥ[. . . . .<sup>32</sup>]. ἀνα]-  
 σάξιμον . . . . .<sup>32</sup>  
 [.]Τ[. . . . .<sup>37</sup>]  
 70 [.]ΤΑ[. . . . .<sup>36</sup>]  
 ΤΑΓΓ[. . . . .<sup>34</sup>]. ἐ]-  
 [ρ]γαστή[ριον . . . . .<sup>29</sup>]  
 [.]ΥΕΡΧ[. . . . .<sup>9</sup>]. ΗΗ[. . . . .<sup>23</sup>]  
 ΣΥΣΟΛ[. . . . .<sup>9</sup>]. Ο[. . . . .<sup>24</sup>]  
 75 [.]ΕΙΑΔ[. . . . .<sup>11</sup>]. ΦΑ[. . . . .<sup>21</sup>]  
 [. . . . .<sup>39</sup>]

	[.]NO[	36	]
	[.]Y[	37	]
	[.]ION[	35	]
80	[.]Y[	37	]
	[.]TO[	36	]
	[.]NA[	36	]
	EO[	37	]

	MO[	37	]
85	ΩP[	37	]
	[.]Λ[	37	]
	[.]Σ[	37	]
	[.]I[	37	]

*lacuna**lacuna*

c

	[.]ΛΑ[	35	]
90	[.]ΙΤΗΝΦΕ[	26	πρὸς ἡλ- ίον ἀνιόντ[
	υομέ[	20	πρὸς ἡλίου δ]-
	ΟΛΟΣΟ[	22	]
	υ[	14	ἀπεγράψα]-
	το μέ[τα]λλον παλαιόν[	12	ἀνασάξιμον.
95	[σ]τήλ[η]ν ἔχον Δημητρι[	10	ἀκὸν ὦι γεί[
	β[ορ[	20	]
	[.]α[	21	πρὸς ἡλίου.
	[.]Ε[.]οσα[	22	]
	[.]ΛΑΓ[	24	ἀνασ[
	άξιμον παλ[	29	αἰὼν.]Α[
100	[.]ΣΑΜ[	30	]
	[.]ΛΟΝΟ[	31	]
	ΕΡΜΗΣ[	31	]

*lacuna*

Col. II

*lacuna*

b

	[.]ΟΥ[	21	]
	[.]άτης[	19	]
105	[.]στήλην [ἔχον	14	]
	[.]ἀπεγ[ράψ[α]το [	19	]
	[.]Σουν ἐργ[αστήριον	12	]
	[.]ΙΟΤΕ[	20	]
	[.]ἀπεγράψατο	15	]
12 illegible lines			
122	[.]ν]οτό[	21	]
	[.]ΚΛΕ[	17	]
	[.]μέτα]λλο[ν	17	]
125	[.]σεν ὦν[η[	16	]
	[.]ΝΗ[	21	]

	[.]ΤΟΤ[	18	]
	[.]πρὸς ἡλίου δυο[μέ[	14	]
	[.]πρὸς ἡλίου [	16	]
130	[.]Ε[	18	]
	[.]ΜΟΝ[	15	]
	[.]ΙΕΝΑ[	16	]
	[.]ΡΚΙ[	18	]
	[.]ΦΑΝ[	17	]
135	[.]Ναυκρατ[	17	]
	[.]ΝΟΥΦ[.]Ε[	16	]
	[.]πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν[	17	]
	[.]ΔΑΘΕ[	16	]
	[.]ἡ χαράδ[ρ]α [ἡ	15	]

140	[.]φέρουσα [	15	]
	[.]Υ[.]Ο[	15	]
	[.]ΟΣ[	18	]
	[.]ΧΧΠΗ[.]ΔΗΜ[	16	]
	[.]μέ]ταλλον παλ[	13	αἰὼν ἀνασάξιμον.]
145	[.]ακὸν Ἀνα[	15	]
	[.]ὦι γεί[	14	]
	[.]ΑΙ[.]ΠΙ[	15	]

- [. . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . . ἡ ὁδὸς] ἡ ἐπὶ Σο[ύ]νιον . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . . . .] Σουν Ω[. . .] Α[. . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .]  
 150 [. . . . .<sup>39</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . . . .] Ἀπολλοδωρ[ο. . . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . . . .] ἀνασάξι[μον. . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .] ATOM a  
 [. . . . .<sup>33</sup> . . . . .] ὦι γ; νοτ-  
 [ό; . . . . .<sup>19</sup> . . . . .] β]ορρ; τὸ [. . .<sup>6</sup> . . .] πρὸς ἡλί-  
 155 [ου ἀνιόν; ὁδὸς ἡ ἐπὶ Θρά]συνμον ἀ[πὸ Λαυρ]έου φέρονσ-  
 [α πρὸς ἡλίου δυομέ; χ]αράδ[ρ]α ἡ ἀ[πὸ Λαυρ]έου ἐπὶ θαλ  
 [. . . . .<sup>30</sup> . . . . .] s Ἐλευ; ΗΗΗΗ  
 [. . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . .] ΕΥΩ[. . .] ΠΠ[. . .<sup>7</sup> . . .] ο μέταλλον  
 [. . . . .<sup>28</sup> . . . . .] Δι]ονυσιακὸν  
 160 [. . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . .] Ο[. . .] Ω[. . .] Τ[. . .<sup>8</sup> . . .] τί[ο]υ οἷς γ  
 [. . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .] ΤΗΙ[. . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . .] ν τὸ τέλμα τὸ  
 [. . . . .<sup>30</sup> . . . . .] Λαμ; Η<sup>Π</sup> < > Πλου  
 [. . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . .] ὦι γεί; βορρᾶ; Δ[ιο]μέδων νοτό;  
 [. . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . .] Ο[. . .<sup>6</sup> . . .] ὦν]η; Σῆμος Διοδώρ-  
 165 [ου Παιαν; . . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . .] ν [ἐπὶ] Θρασύμωι ἐν τοῖς  
 [ἐδάφεσι τοῖς . . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .] Ἑρμαϊκὸν ἐπὶ Θ-  
 [ρασύμωι . . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . .] ὦι γ; βορρ; Φιλημον  
 [. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . . . .] ἐργαστήριον ὦ-  
 [νη; . . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .] Υ[. . . μέταλλον] ἐπὶ Θρασύμ-  
 170 [ωι . . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . . . .] ΣΑ[. . .<sup>7</sup> . . .] ἀνασάξιμον ὦι γ;  
 [. . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .] ΕΥΩ[. . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . .] βορ; Διοκλειδ  
 [. . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . . . .] ὠνη; . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . .] κλέους Σο[υ]-  
 [ν; . . . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . . .] ἀπ]εγρά[ψατο μέταλ]λον παλαιό-  
 [ν ἀνασάξιμον . . . . .] ΗΣ[. . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . .] ἐπ]ι Θρασύμωι  
 175 [ὦι γε; βορ; . . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . .] Σ[. . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . . .] νοτό; Διοφάνους Γα-  
 [ργητ; . . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .] νος Παι[. . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .] ΛΙ[. . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . . . .] ἐπὶ Θρα-  
 [συνμ. . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . . . .] Α[. . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .] ΙΘΑΛ  
 [. . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .] Λ[. . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . .] ENT[. . .]  
 180 [. . . . .<sup>36</sup> . . . . .] EXO  
 [. . . . .<sup>36</sup> . . . . .] HTT  
 [. . . . .<sup>37</sup> . . . . .] Η[. . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>39</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>39</sup> . . . . .]  
 185 [. . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .] Τ[. . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>39</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>19</sup> . . . . .] ΔΙΝΗ[. . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . .] ΣΙΑΟΥ[. . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .]  
 4 illegible lines  
 [. . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . .] ΤΟ[. . .] Ο[. . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .] ΟΥ[. . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .]  
 195 [. . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . .] Υ[. . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . .] ὠνη; . . . . .<sup>39</sup> . . . . .] Σ[. . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>39</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>39</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . . .] ΣΣΚΙ[. . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .]  
 lacuna

## Col. III

lacuna

a

- 200 [. . . . .<sup>38</sup> . . . . .] Ι  
 [. . . . .<sup>38</sup> . . . . .] Ο  
 [. . . . .<sup>38</sup> . . . . .] Α  
 [. . . . .<sup>37</sup> . . . . .] ΗΠ

- [.....<sup>30</sup>.....]ΛΛ[.....]INO  
 205 [.....<sup>27</sup>.....]νο|τό; Ἀρτεμισι-  
 [ακὸν .....<sup>20</sup>.....]ή χ]αράδρα πρὸς ἡλί-  
 [ου.....<sup>23</sup>.....] καὶ ἡ χαράδρα; ὦνη  
 [.....<sup>23</sup>.....] μέταλλον ἐπὶ Σουνί-  
 [ωι.....<sup>18</sup>..... ἐν] τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς Α  
 210 [.....<sup>13</sup>.....] ὦι γε; βορρ; Φ]εῖδιππος; Πιθ; καὶ τὸ μ-  
 [έταλλον.....<sup>13</sup>.....]ιου; νοτό; Μειδίας Ἀνα; ὦν-  
 [η;.....<sup>17</sup>.....] Παλλ; Η<sup>Π</sup>; Φανόστρατος Γαρ; ἀ-  
 [πεγράψατο μέταλλο]ν Θορικοὶ παλαῖον ἀνασάξιμ-  
 [ον.....<sup>12</sup>.....] στήλην ἔχον ὦι γε; βορρ; Φιλίνου  
 215 [.....<sup>10</sup>.....] νοτό; ὁδὸς ἡ ἐχ Θορικοῦ φέρουσα ἐπὶ Θ-  
 [ράσυμον πρὸς ἡ]λίον δυομέ; Φανοστράτου Γαρ; ἐργα-  
 [στήριον πρ]ὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν; Φιλίνου χωρίον ὦνη; Εὐ-  
 [ετίω]ν Αὐτοκλείδου Σφήτ; Η<sup>Π</sup>; μέταλλον ἀνασάξιμο-  
 ν ἐπὶ Λαυρέωι Εὐδότειον στήλην ἔχον ὦι γε; βορρ; Κ-  
 220 αλλίου φελλεύς; νοτό; ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐκ Ὑποτραγῶνος ἐπὶ  
 Λαύρεον φέρουσα καὶ τὸ Σημάχειον πρὸς ἡλίου ἀν-  
 ιόν; > Ἀσπέτου ἐργαστήριον; ὦνη; Κλεώνυμος; Φιλοχά-  
 ρους; Ἀφιδν; Η<sup>Π</sup>; μέταλλον παλαῖον ἀνασάξιμον στή-  
 λην ἔχον Ἑρωικὸν ἐν τῷ λόφωι τῷ Βαμβιδέωι ὦι γ<; >  
 225 βορρ; τὸ Κόνωνος ἐργαστήριον καὶ τὸ μέταλλον τὸ  
 Ἑρωικὸν νοτό; Τεισιακὸν μέταλλον; ὦνη; Εὐθυκράτ-  
 ης Ἀντιδότου Κρωπ; Η<sup>Π</sup>; τάδε αὐτοὶ ἀπεγράψαντο ἐρ-  
 γάσιμα ἐκ τῶν στηλῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδος πρώτης  
 πρυτανείας ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐπὶ Καλλιμάχου; ἀρχ-  
 230 ο; ἐπὶ Λαυρέωι; Ὀνήτωρ Ἀρκεσίλο; Μελ; μέταλλον [ἀπε]-  
 γράψα; ἐργάσιμον Ἑρμαικὸν ἐπὶ Λαυρέωι στήλ[ην ἐ]-  
 χον ὦι γε; βορρ; περίβολος; Διοτίμου Εὐων; νοτό; ἐργ-  
 αστήριον Διοτίμου Εὐων πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν; ἡ ὁδὸς  
 235 μέ ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ Λαυρέου ἐπὶ Θράσυμον φέρουσα; ὦνη  
 Ὀνήτωρ Ἀρκεσίλου Μελι; Η<sup>Π</sup> Μενέξενος Μεταξένου  
 Δεκε; μέταλλον καὶ κατατομήν; ἀπεγράψατο Θορικ-  
 οῖ ἐμ Φιλομηλιδῶν Ποσειδωνιακὸν στήλην ἔχον ἐ-  
 κ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐπὶ Καλλιμάχου ὦι γε; βορρ; Αἰσχί-  
 240 νης Θορί; νοτό; Εὐθυκράτος Ἀμφι; ἐργαστήριον πρὸ-  
 ς ἡλίου ἀνιόν; καὶ ὁ λόφος ὁ Σίδερτος δυομέ Ἰππίσ-  
 κοῦ; χωρία ὦνη; Μενέξενος Μεταξένου Δεκε Η<sup>Π</sup> ἐκ τῆ-  
 ς στήλης τῆς ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου ἄρχοντος Λυσανίας Λυ-  
 σικλέους Κεφα; μέταλλον εἰσηνευκεν ἐργάσιμον  
 245 ἐπὶ Λαυρέωι Ἑρμαικὸν στήλην ἔχον ἐκ τῆ[ς στήλης]  
 τῆς ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου ἄρχοντος [ε]ἰργαζμένο[ν.....<sup>6</sup>.....]  
 Ἀντί[ξ]ενος Εὐω; [ὦι γε;] π[ρὸς] ἡ[λίου].....<sup>14</sup>.....]  
 [..]ω [..]φέ]ρουσα.....] Διονυσιακ [ὄν.....<sup>13</sup>.....]  
 Μειδίον Ἀνα;.....<sup>13</sup>..... ὦνη; Λυσανίας Λυσικ]-  
 250 λέους; Κεφα; Η<sup>Π</sup> ἐκ τῆς στή[λης τῆς ἐπὶ.....<sup>8</sup>.....] ἀρχ]-  
 ο[ν]το[ς Αἰ]σχέας Ε [ὲ]σθ[ένους].....<sup>18</sup>.....]  
 lacuna

## Col. IV

*lacuna*

- a [ . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . . Ἀριστοτέλης Ὀψιάδου Ποτάμι· μέτ]-  
 [αλλον ἀπεγράψατο Ἀμφι[τροπήσι παλαιὸν ἀνασάξ]-  
 [ιμον στήλην] ἔχον Διοσκουρικὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσι]-  
 255 [ν τοῖς Σιμώνδου· ὦι γε· βορρ; [ . . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . . ]  
 [ . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . ]E[ . . . ]μενον πρὸς ἡλίου· ἀνιόν; . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . ]ο Σιμώνδου πρὸς ἡλίου [ν δυομέ; . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . . ἡ]  
 [ὁδ]ὸς ἡ Βήσαζε φέρουσα κα[ῖ . . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . . ]  
 ὦν; Ἀριστοτέλης· Ὀψιάδου Ποτάμι· Ἰσανδρος Στρα]-  
 260 τοκλέους Συπαλή· ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον παλαιὸν ]  
 ἀνασάξιμον Δημητρί[α]κὸν [ν . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . . στήλην ἔ]-  
 χον ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσι τοῖς [ . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . . ὦι γε· βορρ; ]  
 Φιλίωνος ἐργαστήριον [νοτό; . . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . . ἐργαστή]-  
 ριον πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιό· Νο[ . . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . . δυο]-  
 265 μένου· μέταλλον δ ἡργάσ[ατο . . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . . Ἰσαν]-  
 δρος Στρατοκλέους Συπ[αλή· Ἀναφλυστοῖ Θεόδωρο]-  
 s Ὀλυμπίχου Μελι· μέταλ[λον ἀπεγράψατο παλαιὸν ]  
 ἀνασάξιμον Ἀπολλωνι[ακὸν στήλην ἔχον Ἀναφλυσ]-  
 τοῖ ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσι το [ ← <sup>19</sup> →  
 is-----ὦι γε· βορρ;----- ]  
 270 οτίμου ἐργαστήριον ν[οτό; . . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . . πρὸς ἡ]-  
 λίου ἀνιό· ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ [ . . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . . φέρο]-  
 υσα πρὸς ἡλίου δυομέ; [ . . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . . ὦν]-  
 η; Θεόδωρος Ὀλυμπίχο[ν Μελι; . . . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . . . λου]  
 Εἶτε· ἀπεγράψατο μέτ[αλλον παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον]  
 275 Ἀναφλυστοῖ ἐν τοῖς ἐ[δάφεσι τοῖς . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . . ]  
 Αἰξω· Ἡρωικὸν ὦι γε· νο[τό; ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐπὶ . . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . . φέρ]-  
 ουσα πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιό; . . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . . πρὸς ἡλίου δυομέ; ]  
 ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐπὶ Θράσυμον [φέρουσα ὦν; . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . . ]  
 λου Εἶτε· ΔΔ· Αἰσιμίδη[s Διοφάνους Γαργ; μέταλλον]  
 280 ἀπεγράψατο Ἀναφλυσ[τοῖ παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον στ]-  
 ἤλην ἔχον Ἀρτεμισιακὸν [ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσι τοῖς Στ]-  
 ρατοκλέους ὦι γέ; πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιό; [ . . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . . ἐδά]-  
 φη πρὸς ἡλίου δυο; ὁδὸς ἀστική νοτό; ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐπὶ Θρ]-  
 άσυμον φέρουσα; ὦν; Αἰσιμίδης Διοφάνου[s Γαργ; ΔΔ; ]  
 285 Τιμοκλείδης Ὑψηχίδου Φρεά; ἀπεγράψατο [μέταλλ]-  
 ον ἀνασάξιμον παλαιὸν στήλην ἔχον Ποσει[δωνια]-  
 κὸν Ἀναφλυστοῖ; ὦι γε· βορρ; μέταλλον Ἀρτε[μισιακ]-  
 ον νοτόθ; μέταλλον Ἡρωικὸν πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνι[όν; ἐδά]-  
 φη Νεοπτολέμου δυομέ; χαράδρα ὦν[η; Τι]μοκ[λείδης]  
 290 Ὑψηχίδου Φρε; ΔΔ; Ἐπικράτης Ἰσοκρά[ατο]υς Ε[ὺων; μέτ]-  
 αλλον ἀπεγράψατο ἀνασάξιμον στήλην ἔ[χον Ἀρτε]-  
 μισιακὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσι τοῖς Διφίλου [Πιθ; ὦι γε; ]  
 βορρ; τὰ Κερκέων ἐδάφη νοτό; Διφίλου Πιθ; ἐργαστή]-  
 ριον πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνι; Μειξιάδης Σουν; ἡλ[ίου δυομέ; ]  
 295 ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ Λαυρέου ἐπὶ Θράσυμον φέρο[υσα ὦν; Ἐπ]-  
 ικράτης Ἰσοκράτους; Εὺω; ΔΔ; Εὐβιος Εὐη[ . . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . . ]  
 μέταλλον ἀπεγράψατο Φάνειον ἀνασάξ[ιμον στήλ]-



- ην ἔχον Ἀναφλυστοῖ ὦι γε; βορρ; ὁ λόφος [δ. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . .]  
 Φρεα; νοτό; Εὐπολέμου ἐργαστήριον πρ[ὸς ἡλίου ἀν]-  
 300 [ι]ὸ Κόνωνος ἐργαστήριον πρὸς ἡλίου δ[νομ; ἡ δόδος ἡ]  
 ἐπὶ ΛΕΥΚΟΟΙΟΝ φέρονσα ὦν; Εὐπόλεμος [. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . .]  
 υς; Σουν; ΗΔΔΔ; Θορικοῖ Τιμοκλῆς Φανοκ [. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . .]  
 ρα; μέταλλον ἀπεγράψατο παλαιὸν ἀνασ[άξιμον κα]-  
 ἰ ἐπικατατ[ομήν] Ἀρτεμισιακὸν στήλην [ἔχον Θορι]-  
 305 κοῖ ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφε[σι τοῖς Ἀπο [λλο]δώρου [. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .] ἐκ τῶν [. . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . .]  
*lacuna*

## Face B

Col. I

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 35

*lacuna*

- a* [φ]έρονσα [. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .] ἐπ]-  
 [ι] Θρασυμ[. . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .] ἀπεγράψ]-  
 ατο μέταλλ[ον παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον ἐπὶ Θρασ]-  
 310 ὦμωι Ἀρτεμισι[ακὸν στήλην ἔχον ὦι γε; βορρ; Ὀ]-  
 πικράτης [. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . . . .]  
 αριστα τὸ μ[έταλλον . . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . .] μέ]-  
 ταλλον [. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .] ἐπὶ  
 [Θ]ρασύμωι [. . . ἐν τοῖς ἐ[δ]ά[φεσι τοῖς . . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . .]  
 315 [. . . τ ὦι γε; πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιό[. . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .] ἐργαστή]-  
 [ρ]ιον; βορρ; Μεναι[χ]μ[ο . . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . ΣΟΤΙ[. . . ΗΣΙ[. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .]  
 [Θ]εόδωρος Α[. . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . .] παλαιὸ-  
 ν ἀνασάξιμον [. . . . .<sup>19</sup> . . . . .] ἐπὶ Θρ]-  
 320 [α]σύμωι [. . . . .<sup>29</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .] ὦι [γ . . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .] ἐργαστή]-  
 [ρ]ιον πρὸς ἡλίου . . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .] ἐργαστ]-  
 [ή]ριον [. . . . .<sup>29</sup> . . . . .] ἐ]-  
 [ρ]γαστήριον [. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . . .]  
 325 [Ὀ]πικράτης Α[. . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . .] ἀπεγράψατο ἐπ]-  
 [ι] Θρασύμωι μέταλλον [παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον σ]-  
 [τ]ήλην ἔχον Προσ[. . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . Σημωνίδου Σου[ν; . . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .] ἐργα]-  
 [σ]τήριον [. . . . .<sup>28</sup> . . . . .]  
 330 [. . . πρὸς ἡλίου [. . . . .<sup>19</sup> . . . . .] ἐπὶ Λαυ]-  
 [ρ]έωι [. . . . .<sup>31</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . Ο[. . . Ν[. . . . .<sup>31</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . ΙΑ[. . . . .<sup>32</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . ἐπὶ Θρασύμωι [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .]  
 335 [. . . ιακὸν [. . . . .] ΗΣ[. . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . Ο[. . . . .<sup>32</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . ΟΣ[. . . . .<sup>32</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . ΑΣ[. . . . .<sup>32</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . ΣΤ[. . . . .<sup>32</sup> . . . . .]  
 340 [. . . ιλιάδης [. . . . .<sup>24</sup> . . . . .] ἡ δὲ]-  
 [δ]ς ἡ ἐπὶ Θράσυμον φ[έρονσα . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .] Ἀρτε]-

μισιακὸν στήλην [ἔχον . . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . . μέτα]-  
 [λ]λον ἐπὶ Θρα[σύμωι . . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . ἐργαστήριον [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .]  
 345 [. . . ΣΑΚΑΦΙ[. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . . . ἐργ]-  
 [α]στήριον [. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . δρος Καλλίου [. . .<sup>6</sup> . . . ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλο]-  
 [ν] ἐπὶ Θρασύμωι [. . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφε]-  
 [σιν] τοῖς ΛΛ[. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .]  
 350 [. . . ἐργαστήριον[ν . . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . ἐν πρὸς ἡλίου ἀ[νιόν; . . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . κον δυομέ[; . . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . ΣΙΔΗ[. . . . .<sup>29</sup> . . . . .]

*lacuna*

Col. II is completely illegible

Col. III

*lacuna*

b [. . . . .<sup>28</sup> . . . . . ὦν[η]; Νικη  
 355 [. . . . .<sup>24</sup> . . . . .]ς; Κτησιβίο; Κε  
 [. . . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . . . Μνησιδάμ]ας; Ἀριστοδάμαν-  
 [τος; Μυρ; . . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . . μέταλλον] παλαιὸν ἀνασάξ-  
 [ιμον στήλην ἔχον . . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . .]κὸν Ἀμφιτροπῆ; ἐ-  
 [ν τοῖς ἐδάφεσι τοῖς . . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . . .]νος; Κυθ; ὦι γ; βορ  
 360 [. . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . . νοτό; Μν]ησιδάμαντος ἐ-  
 [δάφη; Μυρ; πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνι; . . . . .]θένος; ἐδάφ; Κυθ[;]  
 [πρὸς ἡλίου δυο; Μνησιδάμαν]τος ἐδάφη; Μυρ; ὦν  
 [Μνησιδάμας Ἀριστοδάμαντο]ς; Μυρ; ΔΔ; τάδε ἐπ-  
 [ράθη . . . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . . . Πυανο]ψιῶνος δευτέρ-  
 365 [αι . . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . . δικαστήριον π]ρῶτον τῶν καιν-  
 [ῶν; κυρωτῆς παρὰ πρυτάνεων Κ]ηφισόδωρος; Ἀγ  
 [. . . . .<sup>24</sup> . . . . .]ων Σωσίας Κλε  
 [. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . . ἀπέγραψεν χωρίον κα]ὶ οἰκίαν; Ἀγν-  
 [οῦντι . . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .]ωι ὁδὸς δη-  
 370 [μοσία . . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .]γεια οὐκ ε  
 [. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . . . .]ήματα δύο  
 [. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . . . .]αττος Μυρ  
 [. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . . . .]; καὶ ἕτερο-  
 [ν χωρίον . . . . .<sup>19</sup> . . . . .]ται; ὦι γ; κυκ  
 375 [. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . . .]αττος; ὦν; Φαν  
 [. . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . . καὶ] ἕτερον χωρί-  
 [ον . . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .]ται ὦι γ; βορ; ὁδ-  
 [ὸς . . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .]εμενος πρὸς ἡλ-  
 [ίο ἀνι; . . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . . . .]πρὸς ἡλίο δυο; ἡ ὁδὸ-  
 380 [ς . . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .] φέροσα χάρακ-  
 [ας . . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .]εοστράτο; Κυδαθ  
 [. . . . .<sup>24</sup> . . . . .]τι ὑπ' Ἀρτεμισ-  
 [ίωι . . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . .]ιερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος; νο-  
 [τό; . . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .]; Εἰκαδέων χωρί-

- 385 [ον . . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .] ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέ-  
 [μῖδος . . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . .] αττος; Χ; ὦν; Φάνυ-  
 [λλος . . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . . καὶ ἔ]τερον χωρίον  
 [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .] ὦι γ; βορ; Κλέων; Κ  
 [. . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .] πρὸς ἡλίον ἀν; ὁδὸ-  
 390 [s. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .] νος; πάγος; ὦν; Π  
 [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .] καὶ ἑτέραν ἐσχ-  
 [ατιαν. . . . .<sup>19</sup> . . . . .] ιται καὶ οἰκο  
 [. . . . .<sup>24</sup> . . . . .] νοτό; Θρασύλο-  
 [χος. . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .] ε; ΔΙΕΓΝΟΜΟΣΕ  
 395 [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .] Εἰκαδέων καὶ ο  
 [. . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .] πρὸς ἡλί]ο δυ; Χαρίνο; πα  
 [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .] ; χωρίον καὶ ὄρο-  
 [s. . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . .] δημό]σια εἶναι ταῦτ-  
 [a. . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .] τ]οῦ Πυθοδώρ; Ἀγ  
 400 [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .] ]τος ἐπὶ τὴν κρί-  
 [σιν . . . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . . .] εἰσῆγ]γειλεν αὐτὸν Ὑπ  
 [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .] ]τος ἐρήμην ἐν τ  
 [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .] ]ς; Ἀγν; Μνησίθεο-  
 [s. . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .] Ἀγκν; Θρασυεργ  
 405 [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .] ]ιας τῆς ἐμ Μετα  
 [. . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .] οἰ]κοπέδων; οἷς γ  
 [. . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . .] Θρασ]ύλοχος ΑΧΑΓΙ  
 [. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . . . .] ] τὸ ὄρος φέ-  
 [ροσα. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .] ]ς; Ἀγνουσι  
 410 [. . . . .<sup>28</sup> . . . . .] ]Δ χωρίον  
 [. . . . .<sup>28</sup> . . . . .] ]ληνεων; τ  
 [. . . . .<sup>28</sup> . . . . .] ]ΝΟΣΣΙΩΝ  
 [. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . . . .] ]ΟΣΟΝΤΑΤΟ  
 [. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . . .] ]σχατιαν κα  
 415 [. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .] ]χάρακας κα  
 [. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . . .] ]λιθον ὄρινο  
 [. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . . .] ]ης; Ἀλα; μετὰ τ  
 [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .] ]ν ἐπὶ Διοτίμο; ἄ-  
 [ρχοντος; ὦν; . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .] Ἀναφ]λύστι; ΠΗ; δραχμ-  
 420 [άς; . . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . .] ἐμί]σθωσε τὴν ἐσχα-  
 [τιαν. . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . .] ]ς; ΗΔΔ; τοῦ ἐνια-  
 [υτὸ . . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .] ] εἶναι τὸν τόκ-  
 [ον . . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .] ]πὸ τοῦ ἀρχαιο  
 [. . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . .] ἐμ]φορβίδε; Μελ; Τι  
 425 [. . . . .<sup>24</sup> . . . . .] ]αι ἡ ἀμφισβητ-  
 [ῆι . . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . .] ]ς; δαν; Γλαυκίας; Ξ  
 [. . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .] ]ρων Εὐθύφρονος  
 [. . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .] ] τοῦ Εὐκτῆμονος  
 [. . . . .<sup>18</sup> . . . . .] οἷς γ; βορ; ἡ ὁδὸς; ἡ εἰς Π  
 430 [. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . . . .] ]ίδης Σφήτ; πρὸς  
 [ἡλίον ἀν; . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . .] πρὸς] ἡλίον δυ; Ἀριστ  
 [. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . . . .] ]ος τῶι δημοσ-  
 [ίω; . . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .] ]ου [ἐ]ν ἀκ[ροπό]-

[λει. . . . .<sup>25</sup>. . . . .] Εὐκλει[.]  
 435 [. . . . .<sup>30</sup>. . . . .]N[. . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>35</sup>. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>35</sup>. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>32</sup>. . . . .]ΟΣΟ  
 [. . . . .<sup>35</sup>. . . . .]  
 440 [. . . . .<sup>35</sup>. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>35</sup>. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>32</sup>. . . . .]ON[.]  
 [. . . . .<sup>30</sup>. . . . .]I[. . .]T  
 [. . . . .<sup>33</sup>. . . . .]IA  
 445 [. . . . .<sup>34</sup>. . . . .]N

*lacuna*

Col. IV

*lacuna*

*b*

Π[. . . . .<sup>29</sup>. . . . .] πρὸς ἡ]-  
 λίου[ν ἀνι; . . . . .<sup>17</sup>. . . . .] πρὸς ἡλίου δυ]-  
 ρ; ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ εἰς[. . . . .<sup>25</sup>. . . . .]  
 Ἑρμ; ἐργαστήριον [. . . . .<sup>21</sup>. . . . .]  
 450 Χ; καὶ ἐργαστήρια δύο ἐ[μ Μελίτη οἷς γε; πρὸς]  
 ἡλίου ἀνι; Φιλοκράτο[ς;] Ἀ[γν; οἰκία; πρὸς ἡλίου]  
 δυο; Ἱεροκλείδο; Ἑρμ; [χω]ρί[ον . . .<sup>6</sup>. . . βορ; Φιλο]-  
 κράτους; Ἀγν; οἰκία; νοτό; ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑρακ]-  
 λείου τοῦ Ἀλεξικάκου εἰς ἀγο[ράν φέρουσα; ὦν;]  
 455 Ἱππόνικος; Καλλίου Ἀλωπεκ; Χ[ρ; δημοσίων ὄντ]-  
 ων ἀπάντων Φιλοκράτος τοῦ Πυθ[οδώρο; Ἀγν; οὐ]-  
 χ ὑπακούσαντος Φιλοκράτος εἰς [τὴν κρίσιν]  
 κατὰ τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν ἣν εἰσήγγει[λεν αὐτό]-  
 ν Ὑπερείδης; [Γ]λαυκίππο; Κολ; ἀλλ' ὀφλό[ντος ἐρ]-  
 460 ἡμην ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ; Σκιροφοριῶ[νος δε]-  
 υτέραι ἵσταμένοι δικαστήριον τὸ μέσ[ον τῷ]-  
 ν καινῶν κυρωτῆς παρὰ πρυτάνεων; Εὐθυκλ[ῆς]  
 Εὐκλέους; ἐκ Κ; Εὐθυκλῆς Εὐθυμενίδου Μυρρ[; ἀ]-  
 πέγραψεν συνοικίαν ἐμ Πειραεῖ ὑπὸ Μουνιχ-  
 465 αῖ; ἡι γ; βορ; Εὐθυκλέους; Μυρ; οἰκία; νοτό; δὲ Πρ-  
 ωτάρχου; Πειρ; οἰκία πρὸς ἡλίο ἀνιό; ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀ-  
 στία δυομέ; δὲ Εὐθυμάχου Μυρ; οἰκία οὔσης τῇ-  
 ς συνοικίας ταύτης Μειζιδήμου Μυρ; ὀφείλο-  
 ντος τῷ δημοσίῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐγγύην ἣν ἐ-  
 470 νεγυήσατο Φιλιστίδην; Φιλιστίδου; Αἰξ; μετ-  
 ασχόντα τέλους μετοικίου ἐπὶ Πυθοδότου ἄ-  
 ρχοντος ἕκτην καὶ ἐβδόμην καὶ ὀγδόην καὶ ἐ-  
 νάτην τέτταρας ταύτας ἐκάστην τὴν καταβο-  
 λῆν; Η; δραχμὰς καὶ ἑτέραν ἐγγύην ἐν τοῖς ἐργ-  
 475 οῖς τὴν πεντεδραχμίαν ἕκτην καὶ ἐβδόμην κ-  
 αὶ ὀγδόην τρεῖς ταύτας ἐκάστην τὴν καταβ[ο]-  
 λῆν; ΗΔΔ[; δραχμὰς καὶ ἑτέραν ἐγγύην ἣν ἐνεγ-  
 υήσατο Τηλέμαχον; Ἑρμολόχο ἐμ Π; οἰκ; μετασχ-  
 όντα τέλος τῆς πεντεδραχμίας τῆς τῷ Θησε-

- 480 ἡ τετάρτην καὶ πέμπτην καὶ ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδόμη-  
 νην καὶ ὀγδόην καὶ ἐνάτην καὶ δεκάτην ἐπ[τ]{α τ}-  
 α[ύτ]ας καταβολὰς ἐκάστην τὴν καταβολήν; Η[δ]-  
 [ρα]χμὰς καὶ ἐτέ[ρα]ν ἐνγύην λιθοτομί[αν ἐμ Πε]-  
 [ιρ]αεὶ τετάρτην κ[αὶ] πέμπτην δύο ταύ[τας ἐκά]-  
 485 στήν τὴν καταβολήν; ΗΔΠΙΙΙ; καὶ ἐτέ[ραν ἐγγύ]-  
 [ην] ἣν ἐνεγνήσατο Καλλικράτην; Κα[λλικράτο]-  
 ς; Βήση; οἰκ; μετασχόντα τέλους τῆς [δραχμῆς τ]-  
 ῶι Ἀσκληπιῶι ἑβδόμην καὶ ὀγδόην [καὶ ἐνάτη]-  
 ν καὶ δεκάτην τέτταρας ταύτας ἐκά[στην τὴν]  
 490 καταβολήν; ΔΔΔΠΗΙΙΙ; καὶ τούτων [διπλῶν γε]-  
 γενημένων οὐκ ἐκτείσαντων τεῖ [πόλει οὔτε]  
 Φιλιστίδω; οὔτε Τηλεμάχῳ; οὔτε Κα[λλικράτο]-  
 ς τὴν ὠνὴν οὔτε Μειξιδήμῳ τὰς ἐγ[γύας ἄς ἦγ]-  
 γνήσατο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀλλ' ἐκεγγ[γραμμένο ἐ]-  
 495 ν ἀκροπόλει; κ; Φυακίνης; Κηφισοφῶ[ντος; . . . ; Χ]-  
 αρίας Ἑλπινίκο; Ποτ; ὦν; Τηλέμαχος; Θ[εαγγέλο]  
 Ἀχαρ; ΧΧΧΠΗΗΠΙΙ; τοῦτο κατεβλήθη ἄθρο[ον ἅπα]-  
 ς; [Τ]ίμαρχος; Ἀφ; Ἀμφικλῆς; Ἑρσικλῆς; Ἀφ; [ἀπέγ]-  
 ραψεν Νικοδήμῳ τοῦ Ἀριστομένους; Οἶν; χω[ρί]-  
 500 ον Ἀφίδνησι ἐν Πεταλιδῶν οἷς γε; βορ; χωρί[ον]  
 Εὐθυμένος; Εὐῶ; καὶ ὄρρος; νοτό; χωρίον Δημο[σ]-  
 τράτο; Ἀφ; καὶ χωρίον Ἀπημονίδω πρὸς ἡλίο [ἀ]-  
 νιό; ἡ χαράδρα πρὸς ἡλίο δυο; χωρίον Εὐθυμέ[ν]-  
 ος Εὐῶ; ὀφείλοντος Νικοδήμῳ τῶι δημοσίῳ  
 505 Χ; δραχμὰς καὶ ἐκεγγραμμένον ἐν ἀκροπόλει  
 ἐπιβολὴν ὀφλόντος ὅτι ἐπιμελητῆς γενόμε-  
 νος τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς καὶ ἐγλέξας τὸ ἱερ-  
 ὸν ἀργύριον τῆς φυλῆς οὐκ ἀποδέδωκεν καὶ ἐ-  
 κγεγραμμένο; ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῶι Αἴαντι καὶ ὀ-  
 510 φείλοντος; ΠΗΠΔΠΗΙΙΙ; καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ ἀργυρίου  
 δεδιπλωμένο αὐτῶι ἐπὶ Ἀρχίου ἀρχοντος; κ; [Θ]-  
 εόφαντος; Ἐλευ; Δημοκλῆς; Ἀφ; ἐνεπίσκημμα; ἐ-  
 πιμελεταὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς Δίων Νομην-  
 ίου; Φαλη; Τιμοκράτης; Ἀφ; Πολύφίλος; Πολυμή-  
 515 δος; Οἶν; ἐνεπεσκήψαντο ὑπὲρ τῆς Αἰαντίδος  
 φυλῆς ἐν τῶι χωρίῳ τῶι Νικοδήμῳ τούτῳ Ἀρι-  
 στομένους; Οἶν; ῶι γ; βορ; χωρίον Εὐθυμένος; Εὐῶν  
 καὶ ὄρρος; νοτ; χωρίον Δημοστράτο; Ἀφ; καὶ χω-  
 ρίον Ἀπημονίδω πρὸς ἡλίο ἀνιόν; ἡ χαράδρα π-  
 520 ρὸς ἡλίο δυο; χωρίον τὸ Εὐθυμένος; Εὐῶ; ἐνοφε-  
 ῖλεσθαι τῇ Αἰαντίδι φυλῇ; ΠΗΠΔ; ΠΗΙΙΙ; οὐκ ἀ-  
 ποδόντος τούτῳ τὸ ἀργύριον τῇ Αἰαντίδι φ-  
 υλῇ ἐπιμελητοῦ γενομένου Νικοδήμῳ καὶ ἐ-  
 γλέξαντος τὸ ἱερὸν ἀργύριον τοῦ Αἴαντος κ-  
 525 αὶ ὠφληκότος καὶ ἀπολ[ο]μένο[ν] τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἅπα[ν]-  
 τα εἰ μὴ ἀποδοίῃ τὸ ἀργύριον κ[ατὰ τὸς νόμο[ς]  
 τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς π[ροσοφ]λεῖν τῶι δημο[σ]-  
 ῖῳ τιμῇ; ΠΗΠΔΠΗΙΙΙ; ἐδ[οξε δ] ἐνεπίσκημμα τ[ὸ]  
 φυλῆς εἶναι; ὦν; Νικοκ[ράτης]ς Ξενοκράτος; Ῥα[μ];

- 530 ΠΗΠΔΔΔ: τοῦτο κατεβλ[ήθη ἄ]θροον ἅπαν: ἀπο[γρ]-  
αφή: Προμηθίων: Αἰσχ[ρα][ίου] ἐκ Κη: ἀπέγραψε: ἐ[σ]-  
χατιὰν Θρία: ἦι γε: βορ: [ἡ ὁδὸς ἦ] ἐπὶ τὸν ΚΛΕΥΣ  
ΟΝ ἄγρ: καὶ τὰ ὄρη τὰ δύ[ο. . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . .]ατα νομο[.]  
καὶ εἰς τὸν τειχητὸν [. . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . .]ΚΑΣ[. . .]  
535 αδας: νοτ: δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν [. . . . .<sup>19</sup> . . .]  
ρ[.]ουμενος καὶ αφη[. . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . .]  
α: ὅπου τὸ ἱερὸν κ[. . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . .]  
[. . .]γέττου ΣΙ[.]ΤΗ[. . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . .]  
[. . .]τω ἥρωι ω[. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . .]  
540 [. . .]ἐπιβολη[. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . .]  
[. . .]ΗΗΗΠΔ: [. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . .]  
*lacuna of uncertain length*  
[. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . .]ΙΕ[. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . .]  
[. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . .]αρ: ΧΟΤΩΙ[. . .]  
[. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . .]ν: Τ: καὶ ε[. . .]  
545 [. . . . .<sup>28</sup> . . .]ος: αν[. . .]  
*lacuna*

## Col. III or IV

*lacuna*

- d* [-----]: κ: [-----]  
[-----]ης: Ι[-----]  
[-----]ι ἐπὶ [-----]  
[-----]παρ]ὰ πρυτ[άνεων-----]  
550 [-----]: Καλλι[-----]  
[-----]εται ον[-----]  
[-----] τὸ τέμμε[νος-----]  
[-----]: καὶ τ[-----]  
[-----]MAX[-----]  
555 [-----]ΟΣ[-----]  
*lacuna*

## Col. III

*lacuna*

- e* [. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . .]ς Κλε[. . .]Ο[.]  
[. . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . .]ὀφλεῖν Κλε  
[. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . .]τί]μημα ΗΗΗ ε  
[. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . .]τὸ αὐτὸ χωρί-  
560 [ον . . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . .]ἐνοφείλ-  
[εσθαι . . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . .]τῶι χωρίωι  
[. . . . .<sup>23</sup> . . .]ἀπέγρ]αψεν Ἀρχ  
[. . . . .<sup>27</sup> . . .]χωρίον ο[.]  
[. . . . .<sup>29</sup> . . .]ΟΣΠΡ[. . .]  
565 [. . . . .<sup>29</sup> . . .]ΟΣΠΡ[. . .]  
[. . . . .<sup>29</sup> . . .]ΛΑ[. . .]  
*lacuna*

## Col. IV

*lacuna*

- μον Σμικυλο[. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . .]  
οὔντι ἀπέδωκεν . . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . ἐ]-  
ξούλας δύο κ[. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . .]  
Π[. . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . .]ΕΜΟ[. . . . .<sup>25</sup> . . .]  
Ν[. . . . .<sup>34</sup> . . .]  
*lacuna*

Col. III(?)

Col. IV(?)

f	<i>lacuna</i>		<i>lacuna</i>	
	[... <sup>34</sup> ...]	P	ει Πρωταρχο[. . . . .]	25
	[... <sup>34</sup> ...]	I	δος οίκια; νοτό[. . . . .]	23
	570 [... <sup>34</sup> ...]	H	ακ; ΤΗ; ὅσωι πλέο[νος ἀξία . . . . .]	16
	<i>lacuna</i>		ι; Ἐρικ; ΗΗ; δραχμ[άς . . . . . τῶι δη]-	16
			μοσίωι ε[. . . . .]	28
			<i>lacuna</i>	

Line 7 *upsilon omisit lapis*. Lines 58–59 [ἡ δὸς ἡ εἰ] is Πάνο[ρ]μο[ν φέρουσα] Crosby. Line 94 [ἀνασάξιμον Ἀμφιτροπήσιν] Crosby. Lines 96–97 χω[ρίον ἡλίου ἀνιόντ; ἡ δὸς ἡ Βήσ] [αξέ φ] [έρ] [ο]σα Crosby. Lines 156–157 ἐπὶ Θάλλ[ι]ων (?) φέρο; ὦν; Ἐπι-κράτης Φι[λ]οκράτου; M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 26, 1957, p. 8; θάλλ[ι]ων Oikonomos. Lines 162–163 Πλου[ι]ων (?) Crosby. Lines 167–168 Φιλημον[ι]ακὸν μέταλλον Crosby. Line 172 [Λεύκιος Θεο]κλέους Crosby. Lines 247–249 ἡ[λίου] ἀν; ἡ δὸς ἡ εἰς Αὐ[τῶ]να φέ[ρουσ]α καὶ τὸ Διονυσιακὸν μέταλλον δυομ; [Μειδίου] Ἀνα[γν; ἐργαστήριον] Crosby. Line 250 στῆ[λ]ης τῆς ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου ἀρχ[ῆ] Oikonomos. Lines 265–266 ὦν; Ἰσαν[ι]δρος Crosby. Line 277 ἀνιό[ν; χαράδρα] (?) Kirchner. Line 282 [τὰ Κερκίων] ἐδα Oikonomos. Line 296 Εὐ[νίου] Φυλά[ξ] Oikonomos. Lines 310–311 [Ἐ] [πικράτης] Ἀ[λεξιάδου] Ἀναφλ (?) Crosby. Lines 346–347 [Φα] [ἰ]δρος Καλλίου [Σφήττι;] Crosby. Lines 354–355 Νικη[ι]ράτους ἐργαστήριον Crosby. Line 359 [Ἀντισθέ]-νος Crosby. Line 361 [Ἀντισθέ]νος Crosby. Lines 399–402 [ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ Φιλοκράτος τοῦ Πυθοδώρου; Ἀγ[ν; οὐκ ὑπακού-σαντος Φιλοκρά]τος ἐπὶ τὴν κρί[σι]ν τῆς γραφῆς εἰς ἣν εἰσήγ[η] γειλεν αὐτὸν Ὑπ[ε]ρείδης τῶι δῆμῳ ἀλλ' ὀφλόν[τος] Meritt.

In lines 152–153 Crosby (*Hesperia* 26, 1957, p. 14) read [καὶ ἐπικα]τατομ[ῆ]ν ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσι τοῖς N[a]υ[σι]κλέους [Ἀ] or [Π]λω. The traces which I see on the stone do not support Crosby's readings. Restoration of the demotic in lines 252 and 259 is from C. Habicht (*per lit.*), based on Agora I 5094, for which see J. Traill, "The Bouleutic List of 302/1 B.C.," *Hesperia* 37, 1968 (pp. 1–24), p. 11, lines 15–16. In lines 257–258 Crosby restored and read [δυομ; ἡ δὸς ἡ Ἀμ-φιτρο] [πῆ]θεν. The readings are possible, although I concur with Oikonomos and Kirchner that the first three pre-served letters of line 258 are omega, sigma, and eta. In lines 262–263 Oikonomos and Kirchner read [Κε] [φα]λίωνος, but the second letter of line 263 is a clear iota, as Crosby first noted. In line 301 Crosby's Λευκόθιον, a place in Anaphlystos, seems better than Kirchner's Λευκό(ν)οιον, the Leontid deme, which is usually assigned to the city trittys. The final two letters of line 381 are cut in the two-spaced column divider. In the final letter space of line 392 I read omicron in place of Meritt's iota. We should thus print οἴκο[ν] or οἴκ[ος] [αν]. In line 452 after Ἐρικ; I read [χω]ρ[ί]ον -----] instead of Meritt's [ἐργ]α[στήριον ---]. The lacuna following could be filled with [καὶ οἴκ;]. The correct restoration of the verb in line 528 was first made by M. Crosby (*Hesperia* 10, 1941, p. 23, commentary to line 25).

In lines 103–151 a number of new readings have been made which differ from those published by Crosby (*Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 246–247). The surface of the stone is worn practically smooth in this area, and the letters appear best when the stone is wetted and examined in direct sunlight. The surface of the stone in the area of lines 231–251 and 297–306, on the other hand, has completely disappeared owing to flaking away of the surface. Here the readings are solely those of the previous editors.

The use of punctuation marks is fairly consistent throughout the text, and I have taken the liberty of adding a few in places where they were probably not cut because of oversight: lines 137, 162, 222, 224, and 361. In line 214 Kirchner read βε;ρ;ρ;, but there are no punctuation marks after the omicron and first rho.

In lines 364–365 Meritt restores δευτέρ[ῃ] [αι ἰσταμένον δικαστήριον π]. φθίνοντος also fits the available space, but Meritt's supplement is preferable, if we are correct in believing that it was customary to meet these cases early in the month.

**P27** (Pl. 10). Five fragments of Hymettian marble combining into four non-joining pieces possibly from the same stele. Fragment *a* (I 5358), broken all around except for the smooth back which is possibly a reworking, was found on March 22, 1938, in a modern wall south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (O–P 18). The two pieces composing the right half of fragment *b* (I 4782) were found on April 29 and May 5, 1937, in a Late Roman disturbance to the east of the porch of the Tholos (H 11); the left half of fragment *b* (I 7419; Pl. 10, all of *b*) was found on July 1, 1972, in a late fill east of the stoa of Attalos (U 11–12). Fragment *b* is broken on all sides except for the back, which, as in the case of fragment *a*, appears to have been smoothed unevenly at a later time, and the bottom, which is a later reworking. Fragment *c* (I 4883), broken all around, was found on May 22, 1937, in the same Late Roman disturbance as the right half of fragment *b*. Fragment *d* (I 4942), broken all around, was found on June 7, 1937, in the same context as fragment *c*.

*a*: H. 0.37 m.; W. 0.35 m.; Th. upper left 0.09 m., lower left 0.092 m., upper right 0.088 m., lower right 0.076 m.

*b*: H. 0.285 m.; W. 0.327 m.; Th. 0.077–0.081 m.

*c*: H. 0.05 m.; W. 0.073 m.; Th. 0.017 m.

*d*: H. 0.084 m.; W. 0.015 m.; Th. 0.044 m.

Letter height on all fragments 0.004 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.006 m.

Ed. *a*: M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 254–260, no. 18, photograph pl. 92; *b*: M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 219–220, no. 6, photograph pl. 85 (the right half only; the left half of *b* is unpublished); *c*: M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 270, no. 23, photograph pl. 94; *d*: M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 219–220, no. 6, photograph pl. 85; *SEG* XXVIII, 122 (fragments *b* and *d*).

*a*. 341/0 (?) *a*.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 47

Col. I

*lacuna*

*a*

[.....<sup>36</sup>.....]φειον: βορρ[:]  
 [.....<sup>33</sup>.....] Διοκλέους ἐκ Κη:  
 [←.....<sup>31</sup>.....→]  
 [.....<sup>29</sup>.....] κράτους Ἀμφιτρ: ΧΧ  
 [.....<sup>23</sup>.....] Βήσῃσι Α[ι]γελιακὸν ὦι  
 5 [γεί:.....<sup>25</sup>.....] ὦνῃ: Ἀνδροκλῆς Ἱεροκλε  
 [.....<sup>22</sup>.....] Βήσῃσι ἐμ Παγγαί: ὦνῃ: Γλαυκ  
 [.....<sup>31</sup>.....] μέταλλον] ἐμ Παγγαίῳ δ ἡργάζ:  
 [←.....<sup>30</sup>.....→]  
 [.....<sup>30</sup>.....] οκλέους ἐκ Κολ: ΗΨΔ  
 [.....<sup>30</sup>.....] τικὸν στ[ή]λην ἔχον ἐν  
 10 [τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς.....<sup>12</sup>..... ὦι] γεί: βορ: ἡ οἰκία ἡ Α[.]  
 [←.....<sup>26</sup>.....→]  
 [.....<sup>14</sup>.....] νοτό:..... ἐργα]στήριον πρὸς <sup>υ</sup> ἡλίο-  
 [.....<sup>14</sup>.....] ν ἀνιόν:..... δυομέ: τὸ Ἑρ[ά]κλειον [τ]ὸ Βησαιῶν  
 [←.....<sup>28</sup>.....→]  
 [.....<sup>28</sup>.....] ὦνῃ:.....] ΧΗΗΗΗ: Ναυσικλῆς [.]ΛΛ[.]  
 [←.....<sup>28</sup>.....→]  
 [.....<sup>28</sup>.....] ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον.....] εἰον Β[ή]σῃσι στηλὴν ἔχο-  
 15 [ν ὦι γεί: βορ:.....<sup>18</sup>.....] νοτό: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ Βήσαζε φ-  
 [έρουσα πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν:.....<sup>7</sup>.....] ντος ἐργαστήριον δυομ-  
 [έ:.....<sup>22</sup>.....] ὦνῃ: Στρατοκλῆς Ἰσάνδρου [Σ]-  
 [υπαλ:.....<sup>20</sup>.....] Δι[φί]λου Γαρ[γ]ήττι: εἰ[σ]ήνε-  
 [υκε μέταλλον.....<sup>13</sup>.....] ἐργά]σιμον Βήσῃσ[ησ]ι ἐκ τῆς [σ]-  
 20 [τῆλης τῆς ἐπ' Ἀρχίου ἄρχο: δ ἀπεγράψατο Εὐθύδικος Μνησιθ-  
 [έου Σφήττι: ὦι γεί: βορ:.....<sup>7</sup>.....] α[.]ης Εὐωνυ: νοτό: Ἑράκλ-  
 [εἰον τὸ Βησαιῶν ὦνῃ:.....<sup>11</sup>.....] ον Πόριος: ΗΨ: Ἀνδροκλ-  
 [ῆς.....<sup>7</sup>.....] ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον] παλαιὸν ἀνασάξι: Βήσῃσι  
 [.....<sup>17</sup>.....] ὦι γεί: βορ]: Νικανδρίδου Ποταμί: οἰ-  
 25 [κία νοτό:.....<sup>18</sup>.....] ρου: πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν: Φι  
 [.....<sup>23</sup>.....] πρὸς ἡλίου δυομέ: Σπενσίπο-  
 [←.....<sup>27</sup>.....→]  
 [.....<sup>21</sup>.....] ὦνῃ:.....] κλ[ή]ς Σωστράτου Ἀμφιτρο-  
 [π:.....<sup>21</sup>.....] Λαμ]πτρ: ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλο-  
 [.....<sup>25</sup>.....] ν Κιθ[α]ρωνιακὸν ἐν τοῖς Κ  
 [←.....<sup>27</sup>.....→]  
 30 [.....<sup>27</sup>.....] ἐδάφεσιν ὦι γεί: βορ:.....] ράτ[ο]υς Φαληρε: ἐργαστή-



[ριον νοτό:.....<sup>18</sup>.....]ον Τησαγόρας ἦρ: [.]οκαιν  
 [.....<sup>29</sup>.....]ιτου ὦνη: Καλλικρατίδ-  
 [ης.....<sup>27</sup>.....]λης Ἀ[λ]αιε: ἀπεγράψατ-  
 [ο μέταλλον παλαιὸν ἀνασάξι: Βήσησ]ιν στήλην ἔχον Ἀφροδι-  
 35 [σιακὸν ὦι γεί: βορ:.....<sup>6</sup>.....ἐργαστή]ριον νοτόθ: Βησαιῶν α  
 [.....<sup>30</sup>.....]λι: πρὸς ἡλίου δυομέ  
 [←-----<sup>28</sup>-----→] ὦνη:-----Λ] υσικλῆς Ζηλάρχου Συπ-  
 [αλ:.....<sup>26</sup>.....Λα]μπρε: ἀπεγράψατο  
 [μέταλλον.....<sup>26</sup>.....]ΣΕΡΕ: [.....<sup>8</sup>.....]  
*lacuna*

## Col. II

*lacuna*  
 40 ΧΟ[.....<sup>45</sup>.....]  
 ΔΙΟ[.....<sup>41</sup>.....] πρὸ]-  
 s ἡλ[ίου ἀνιόν:.....<sup>26</sup>.....] πρὸς ἡλίου]  
 δυο[μέ:.....<sup>41</sup>.....]  
 Ἰππι[.....<sup>43</sup>.....]  
 45 Ἀμφι[τροπ:.....<sup>37</sup>.....] Ἀ]-  
 μφιτ[ροπ:.....<sup>39</sup>.....]  
 ΦΙΛΑ[.....<sup>43</sup>.....]  
 νοτό[:.....<sup>42</sup>.....]  
 Ἀμφιτ[ροπ:.....<sup>38</sup>.....]  
 50 [.]ΡΑΤΟ[.....<sup>42</sup>.....]  
 ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον.....<sup>25</sup>..... ἐν το]-  
 ῖς ἐδάφ [εσιν τοῖς-----<sup>33</sup>-----ὦι γ: βορ:-----]  
 Ἀμφιτροπ: νοτό:.....<sup>31</sup>..... ἦρ]-  
 γάζε: πρὸς ἡλίου.....<sup>29</sup>..... ὦνη:]  
 55 Κομωνίδης [.....<sup>28</sup>.....] ἀπεγράψατο]  
 μέταλλον πα[λαιὸν ἀνασάξι:.....<sup>24</sup>.....]  
 ὦι γ: βορ: Κτ[←-----<sup>37</sup>-----νοτό:-----]  
 ἐνους πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν:.....<sup>25</sup>..... δυ]-  
 ομέ: Ἀντισθέ[ν.....<sup>35</sup>.....]  
 60 Φανόθεος Λυσ[ι]π[.....<sup>12</sup>.....] ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον ἐργά]-  
 σιμ: ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐπὶ-----<sup>25</sup>-----ἄρχο:-----Ἀ]-  
 μφιτροπ: ὦι γ: βο[ρ:-----<sup>31</sup>-----νοτό:-----]  
 οὐς ἐδάφη πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν:.....<sup>18</sup>..... δυομέ:]  
 ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ Βήσαζε φέρου: ὦνη:.....<sup>25</sup>.....]  
 65 Εὐθυκράτης Ἀντιδ[ότου Κρωπί: ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον ἐργά]-  
 σιμον Θεοδόσιον Ἀ[μφιτροπ: ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐπὶ.....<sup>7</sup>.....]  
 ἄρχο: ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφ[εσιν τοῖς.....<sup>16</sup>.....] ὦι γ: βορρ]-  
 ᾱ[:] ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ Βήσαζε φέρου:.....<sup>27</sup>.....]  
 Φιλόφρων Πειρ: ὦνη: [.....<sup>32</sup>.....]  
 70 Θορικοῦ Φεῖδιππο[ς Φαύλλου Πιθ: ἀπεγράψ: μέταλλον ἀνασ]-  
 άξι[:] Ἀρτεμισιακ: ἐ[ν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς.....<sup>10</sup>.....] ὦι γ:]

βορ: Φ[ε]ι[δίππου ἐ]ργ[αστήριον . . . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . . . πρὸς ἡλίου]  
 ἀνι[όν: . . . . .<sup>41</sup> . . . . .]  
 [.]I[. . . . .<sup>45</sup> . . . . .]

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Col. I      Col. II

*lacuna*

b 75 [----] μέτ[αλλον . . . . .<sup>37</sup> . . . . . ἐκ]  
 [..<sup>46</sup>..]Ο τῆς στή[λης τῆς ἐπὶ ----- ἄρχο: ----- στ]-  
 [----] ἡλὴν ἔχον[ . . . . .<sup>38</sup> . . . . . ὁ]  
 [----] πάγος νοτ[: . . . . .<sup>38</sup> . . . . .]  
 [----] ὦνη: Χαιρε[. . . . .<sup>35</sup> . . . . . Λαμ]-  
 80 [..<sup>46</sup>..]Ο πτρε: ἀπεγρ[άψ: μέταλλον . . . . .<sup>24</sup> . . . . . πα]-  
 [..<sup>46</sup>..]Μ λαιὸν ἀνασά[ξ: . . . . .<sup>35</sup> . . . . .]  
 [..<sup>46</sup>..]Ε Καλλίου Θορι[κ: . . . . .<sup>34</sup> . . . . .]  
 [..<sup>46</sup>..]Ι νοτ: ὅρος ἐπὶ Τε[----- ὦνη -----]  
 Λαμπτρ: ΗΨ: Συμω[. . . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . . . ἀπεγράψ: μέταλλον Ἄρτ]-  
 85 εμισιακ: Θορικ: [ . . . . .<sup>33</sup> . . . . .]  
 ἐν τοῖς Ἀντοφῶντο[υ ἐδάφεσι ὦι γ: . . . . .<sup>20</sup> . . . . .]  
 Φιλίας Ἐλευσί: πρ[ὸς ἡλίο ἀνι: . . . . .<sup>21</sup> . . . . . ὁ]  
 λόφος ὦνη: Καλλικ[. . . . .<sup>32</sup> . . . . .]  
 Πειραι: ἀπεγράψ: μ[έταλλον Θορικ: παλαιὸν ἀνασάξ: Ἄρτε]-  
 90 μισιακ: στήλ: ἔχον [ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσι τοῖς . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . . ὦι γ:]  
 πανταχόθ: Διοχάρη[ς Πιθ: ὦνη: . . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .]  
 ΗΨ: Κλειτοφῶν Κλει[. . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . . . ἀπεγράψ: μέταλλον παλαιὸν ἀν]-  
 ασάξι: Θορικ: Ποσε[ιδονιακ: ἐν [το]ῖ[ς ἐδάφεσι τοῖς . . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . . .]  
 δότου οἷς γ: βορ: ἐρ[γαστήρ]: Κη[φ]ισοδ[ότου . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . .]  
 95 νοτ: Κηφισόδοτος Συ[βρι:] ὦνη: Ἰκέτης Ἐλ[. . . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . . .]  
 Ἱεροκλῆς Φηγαι: ἀπ[εγράψ: Θορικ: μέταλλ[ον . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . .]  
 παλαι: ἀνασάξ: Ἀπολ[λο]νιακ: καὶ ἐπικατατ[ομὴν ὦι γ: βορ: ἡ]  
 ὁδὸς ἡ ἐκ Θορικ: ἐπὶ Λ[α]ύρειον φέρου: νοτ: ἐδ[άφ: τοῖς Λυσι]-  
 [θειδ]ον παίδων καὶ π[ρ]ὸς ἡλίο ἀνι: καὶ δυο: ΟΚΙ[. . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . . . ὦνη:]  
 100 [Εὐδράω]ν Εὐδράωνος Θορικ: Π: Σμῖκρος Λαμπτρ: [ἀπεγράψ: μ]-  
 [έταλλον: ἀ]νασάξ: Ἀρτεμισιακ: στήλην ἔχον Θο[ρικ: ἐν τοῖ]-  
 [ς ἐδάφεσι τοῖς Σωφίλ[ο]ν ὦι γ: βορ: ἐδάφ: Λυσιθειδον παίδω]-  
 [ν . . . . . ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ] Βήσηθ: [φ]έρου: ἐπὶ Θράσυμ: νοτ: Ν[. . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . .] Βήσαξ[ε:] ὦνη: Θέωρος Θεαίο Παλλη[. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . .]  
 105 [ . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . .] μνήστο[ν Ἀ]ναφλυ: ἀπεγράψ: μέταλλον [ . . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . . .]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . .] σ[τήλ]ην [ἔχ]ον καὶ ἐπικατατομὴν ἐν [τοῖς ἐδάφε]-  
 [σι τοῖς . . . . .<sup>19</sup> . . . . .] πρὸς ἡλίο [ἀ]νι[. . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .]

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c [----- . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . .] Ἀξ: Ι[-----]  
 [----- . . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . .] Τιμοκλῆς [-----]  
 110 [----- . . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . . .] Θεοδότου Με[λι -----]  
 [----- . . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . .] ἀνασάξ: Θ[-----]  
 [----- . . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . . .] ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσι τοῖς -----]

[-----...<sup>6</sup>... πρὸς ἡ]λίου ἀν[ι: -----]  
 [-----...<sup>14</sup>... ..]ΠΟΣ[-----]  
*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*d* 115 [-----]ΟΤ[-----]  
 [-----]ΟΙ[-----]  
 [-----]ΝΑ[-----]  
 [-----]ΙΚ[-----]  
 [-----]ΟΥ[-----]  
 120 [-----]ΩΦ[-----]  
 [-----]Ο[-----]  
*lacuna*

Line 2 [νοτό: ἐργαστήριον] Διοκλέους Crosby. Line 3 [ὥνη: Εὐθυκράτης(?) Εὐθυ]κράτους Crosby. Lines 6–7 Γλαύκ[ιππος Ὑπερείδου Κολλυτεύς] A. N. Oikonomides, Ὑπερείδου λόγοι, Athens 1958, p. 7, note 4. Line 14, *lapis* ΒΚΣΗΞΙ. Line 21 [βορ: Φιλοκρ(?)]ά[τ]ης Crosby. Line 29 [στήλην ἔχον Βήσησι(?)]ν Crosby. Line 37 [ὥνη: Λ(?)]υσικλῆς Crosby. Lines 57–58 [νοτό: ἐδάφη Ἀντισθ(?)]ένους Crosby. Line 60 Λυσ[ί]π[που Παιανιεύς] Crosby. Line 61 [τῆς ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου(?) ἄρχο:] Crosby. Lines 62–63 [Ἀντισθέν(?)]ους Crosby. Line 64 [ὥνη: Φανόθεος Λυσίππου Παιαν: ΗΠ(?)] Crosby. Line 66 [τῆς ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου(?)] Crosby. Line 69 ὥνη: [Εὐθυκράτης Ἀντιδότου Κρωπίδης . . . .] Crosby. In line 93 the left vertical and part of the diagonal of the nu are preserved. The proposed restoration of line 97 gives one letter too many. Either one of the restored punctuations shared a stoichos with the preceding letter or else the article at the end of the line was omitted or inscribed in the column divider.

For the date of fragment *a*, cf. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 257. The new piece of fragment *b* allows us to put it with *a* with some assurance. Crosby, working with only part of *b*, placed it before 350 B.C. because of the predominance of masculine genitive endings in omicron and only one example of ου. The new piece gives several examples of the genitive diphthong and shows that the former data were fortuitous. Rather than being indicative of date, this variable orthography is no more than simple, abbreviated writing, a common feature not only in the poletai documents but in other inscriptions of the third quarter of the 4th century as well. For more on this, see L. L. Threaght, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, I, *Phonology*, Berlin 1980, pp. 350–352.

**P28.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 2205) preserving a smooth back which was probably originally inscribed, found on November 19, 1934, in a modern house wall west of the north part of the Odeion (K 10). The stone has cuttings for re-use as a doorsill.

H. 0.37 m.; W. 0.338 m.; Th. 0.108–0.11 m.; L.H. 0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.007 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 260–263, no. 19, photograph pl. 92; *SEG* XXVIII, 129.

*a*. 339/8 (?) *a*.

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*lacuna*  
 [.....<sup>21</sup>.....]Ο[.....<sup>10</sup>.....]Ι[.Ε[.....<sup>12</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>25</sup>.....]Ο[.Σ[.....]Ο[.Ε[.Ο[.....<sup>6</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>13</sup>.....]ὠνη[. . .]ιλο[s X]αριμήδου Μα[ρ]αθ[. . .<sup>8</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>13</sup>.....]ου Ἀλα[ιεν]ς εἰ[σ]ήνευκε μέταλλον [ἐ]ργάσ[ιμον]  
 5 [ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐπὶ Σωσιγένους ἄρ[χ]οντος Ἀρ[τεμ]ισι[ακόν]  
 [στήλην ἔχον Θορ[ικοῖ] ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς Λυσιθείδου [Κι]-  
 [κυν: ὦι γεί: βορ]ρᾶ: Λυ[σι]θείδης Κικ[υ]ν: νοτό: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐπὶ [. . .]  
 [.....<sup>6</sup>.....]φέρουσα κ[αὶ] Φε[ιδ]ίππου [Π]ιθε: ἐργαστ[ήριον] ὥνη: [. . .]  
 [.....<sup>14</sup>.....]ου Ἀ[λ]α[ι]: ΗΠ: Λ[. . .]ς Λυσιστράτου Φιλα[. . .]  
 10 [.....<sup>24</sup>.....] ἄρχοντ[ος] μέταλλον ἀπεγρ[άψ]-  
 [ατο .....<sup>28</sup>.....]ν ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν [ν τ]-  
 [οῖς .....<sup>17</sup>.....]ὦι γεί: παντα[χόθεν] παῖδες Εὐθυ[. . .]  
 [.....<sup>6</sup>.....] ὥνη: Λ. . . .ς Λυσιστράτου Φιλα[. . .] ΗΠ: Διόδωρος Φερε-

	[κλέους Θημακ: ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐπὶ Σω]σιγένους ἄρχοντος	
15	[μέταλλον . . . . . <sup>8</sup> εἰσήνευκε] Θορ[ικ]οῖ στήλην ἔχον Λαβια- [κὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφει] τοῖ[ς Φερ]εκλέους Θημακ[:] ὦι γεί: βορρ[ᾱ] [ἡ δὸς ἡ ἐκ Θορικοῦ] εἰς [. . . <sup>6</sup> .]ον φέρουσα νοτόθ: Αἰσχίν[ης] [Θορίκι: ὦνη: Διόδ]ωρο[ς Φερεκλ]έους Θημακ: ΗΓ: ΜΑΡΩΝΕΙ[.]Ν [μέταλλον . . . . . <sup>8</sup> νι[. . .] ανασ]άζιμον τὸ ἀντρον στήλην <ν> οὐ-	Col. II O[ ----- <sup>46</sup> -----] [ ----- ]
20	κ ἔχον ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφειν τοῖς Σο]νιιάδου ὦι γεί: βορρ[ᾱ] Βλυ [----- <sup>25</sup> -----]λέους Οἰήθ: χωρίο[ν κ]α[ι] Φιλ [. . . . . <sup>22</sup> . . . . .] ὦν]η: Δρωπίδης Ε[. . . . .]ον ᾿Α[φ]ιδν [. . . μέταλλον ανασάζιμον στήλην ἔχον ᾿Ασφα[. . . . .]δ[ν ἐ]ν Μαρ- [ωνείαι ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφειν] τοῖς Νικηράτου Κυδ[αν]: [ὦι γ]εί: πρ- 25 [ὸς ἡλίου ανιόν: . . . . . <sup>7</sup> ]ς κάμινος π[ρ]ῶ[ς] ἡλίου [δυομ]: [ἡ] δὸς [ἡ . . . . . <sup>10</sup> φέρουσα βο]ρρ: Νικηράτος Κυδ[α]ντ[ί]: [νοτ]ό: Δι [----- <sup>21</sup> -----] ᾿Αντιγένους Κεφ[αλ]ῆθ: [. . . . .]: ᾿Απο [. . . . . <sup>19</sup> . . . . .] ἀπ]εγράψατο μέταλλον Ε[. . . . .]ασ[. . . . .]Ω [. . . . . <sup>19</sup> . . . . .] στήλην ἔχον ὦι [γεί]: βορρ[ᾱ]: ἡ [χ]αράδ- 30 [ρα ἡ . . . . . <sup>20</sup> . . . . .] πρὸς ἡλίου ἀν[ι]όν: Κ[. . . . . <sup>8</sup> . . . . .] [----- <sup>24</sup> -----] κράτου ᾿Αμφιτροπ[. . . . . <sup>9</sup> . . . . .] [. . . . . <sup>24</sup> . . . . .] μ]εταλλον ἀπεγράψατ[ο] [. . . . .] [. . . . . <sup>26</sup> . . . . .] Ο[.] στήλην ἔχον ἐν τοῖς ἐδά]- [φειν τοῖς . . . . . <sup>6</sup> . . . . .] ὦι γεί: βορρ: τὸ ᾿Αφ]ροδισια[κ]ὸν [μέ]ταλλο- 35 [ν νοτόθ: . . . . . <sup>22</sup> . . . . .] πρὸς ἡλίου αν[ι]όν: [. . . . .] [. . . . . <sup>29</sup> . . . . .] διον Διονυσόδωρου [. . . . .] [----- <sup>30</sup> -----] δους ἐξ Οἴου: ΗΓ: [. . . . .] [. . . . . <sup>24</sup> . . . . .] μέταλλον ἀπεγράψατο πα[λαι]- [ὸν ανασάζιμον . . . . . <sup>21</sup> . . . . .] Ο[.]ΕΩ[.]Υ[.]ΝΙ[. . . . .] 40 [. . . . . <sup>34</sup> . . . . .] Σ[.]ΟΡΤ[. . . . . <sup>8</sup> . . . . .] [. . . . . <sup>37</sup> . . . . .] Σ[. . . . . <sup>9</sup> . . . . .]	[ ----- ] [ ----- ] [ ----- ] [ ----- ] H[ . . . . . <sup>46</sup> . . . . .] ΛΗ[ . . . . . <sup>45</sup> . . . . .] ὦι γ[. . . . . <sup>44</sup> . . . . .] ΡΟ[ . . . . . <sup>45</sup> . . . . .] ΟΛ[ . . . . . <sup>45</sup> . . . . .] Ι[ . . . . . <sup>46</sup> . . . . .] ΝΕ[. . . . . <sup>45</sup> . . . . .] Σ[. . . . . <sup>46</sup> . . . . .]

lacuna

Lines 12–13 [παίδων Εὐθυκράτους ὦι γεί: παντα]χόθεν παῖδες Εὐθυκ[ι][ράτους] Crosby. Line 17 εἰς [Πάνορμ(?)]ον Crosby. Line 19, lapis ΣΤΗΛΗΣ. Line 22 ᾿Ε[ρμίπ(?)]ον Crosby. Line 26 [ἡ ἐπὶ Σούνιον φέρουσα] Crosby. Line 31 ὦνη: Εὐθυκράτης(?) Εὐθυ]κράτου Crosby.

For the end of line 18 Crosby suggests a simple locative Μαρωνεία<ι>, while Eliot (*Coastal Demes*, p. 85) would read <ἐν> Μαρωνεία<ι>. I do not see the second alpha on the stone. At the end of line 20 Crosby read Παν for the beginning of the name, while I read Βλυ. A nick has chipped away the central part of the beta, but both loops are clearly visible. The letter following is triangular, but no crossbar is visible. In line 23 the preserved letters of the name of the mine are somewhat chipped, and the strokes are filled with deposit, but they are reasonably clear. In lines 28–29 Crosby's reading ᾿Ερ[μ]α[ικὸν ἀ]ν[ι] [ασάζιμον] is impossible. The epsilon and alpha are certain, but so is a sigma after the latter. I do not see Crosby's rho. The final letter space of line 28 is inscribed not with a nu but an omega and an iota.

The date is probably 339/8 as argued by Crosby. Her restorations in lines 9–10 in that case are quite possible: Φιλα[ίδ]||[ης ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐπὶ ᾿Αρχίου ἄρχοντ]ος. We cannot be certain, however, that the demotic was written out in full and not abbreviated. If the latter, then an archon's name with eight letters (initial consonant) or nine letters (initial vowel) would be possible.

**P29.** Three fragments of Hymettian marble from the same stele. Fragment *a* (I 631 a + 939), broken all around, is composed of three joining pieces, one of which was found on April 18, 1935, in late fill south of the Tholos (G 12), one on March 31, 1933, in the foundations of a modern house east of the Tholos (I 11), and one on June 6, 1933, in a

marble dump in the area of the west end of the Middle Stoa. Fragment *b* (I 686), broken all around, was found on April 19, 1933, beside the same modern foundation as part of fragment *a* (I 11).

*a*: H. 0.251 m.; W. 0.344m.; Th. 0.088 m.; L.H. 0.004–0.005 m.

*b*: H. 0.246 m.; W. 0.128 m.; Th. 0.087 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.

*a*, *b*, stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.007 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 263–267, no. 20, photographs pl. 93; *SEG XXVIII*, 130.

ca. a. 340/39 a.

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Col. II.

*lacuna*

- a* [.....<sup>23</sup>.....]OE[.....<sup>22</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>16</sup>.....]Ἀρτεμισιακ[ὸν.....<sup>17</sup>.....ἐν]  
 [τοῖς ἐδά]φ[εσιν τοῖς] Καλλαίσχ[ρ]ον [Σιφνι: ὦι γεί: βορρά: ...]  
 [.....]: νοτ[όθ: Στη]σιληίδου ἐργασ[τήριον ἡλίου ἀνιόν: Στ]-  
 5 [ησιλ]ηίδου χ[ωρίου] ἡλίου δυομέ: Ἐπι[.....<sup>13</sup>.....ὠνη: Λ]-  
 [εὐκ]μος Θεοκ[λέου]ς Σουν[ι]: ΗΗ: Θαλινο[.....<sup>17</sup>.....]  
 [μέ]ταλλον ἀπε[γρ]άψατο [ἐρ]γάσιμον ἐκ τῆς σ[τήλης τῆς ἐπ.....]  
 ὕλου Ἀρτεμισιακὸν ἐν [Νάπ]ηι ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφε[σιν τοῖς.....<sup>6</sup>.....]  
 ὦι γεί: βορρά: μέταλλ[ον Ἀ]ρτεμισιακὸν δ' ἐ[ργάζεται.....]  
 Col. I 10 ιων νοτόθ: ἡ χαράδρα [ἡ ἀπὸ] Νάπης ρέουσα καὶ τ[ὸ ἐργαστήριον]-  
 [. . . . .<sup>46</sup>.]Ο ν τὸ Ἐπικράτους πρὸς [ἡλίου] ἀνιόν: τὰ χωρία τὰ [. . . . .<sup>9</sup>..... κ]-  
 [. . . . .<sup>46</sup>.]Φ αὶ ἡ οἰκία δυομένου ἐ[ργαστ]ήριον ὠνη: Θουτιμ[ίδης Φανίου]  
 [. . . . .<sup>46</sup>.]Λ Σουνι: ΗΨ: Θορικοῖ [. . . . .<sup>7</sup>.....]μη ἀνασάξιμον Φ[. . . . .<sup>9</sup>..... σ]-  
 [. . . . .<sup>46</sup>.]Μ τήλην ἔχον ὦι γεί: βορρά: ἡ δὲ δὸς ἡ εἰς Θορικὸν [ν νοτόθ: ἡ δὲ δ]-  
 [. . . . .<sup>46</sup>.]Π 15 ῃς ἡ εἰς τὸ Διουνύσιον φ[έρουσα π]ρὸς ἡλίου ἀνι[όν:.....<sup>9</sup>.....]  
 πρὸς ἡλίου δυο: το[.]ω[. . . . . ὠνη: Κη]φισοφῶν [. . . . .<sup>10</sup>..... Φρ]-  
 εάρρι: ΗΨΔ: Εὐδράων [Εὐδράωνος Θορίκι: ἀπεγράψατο μέτα]-  
 λλον Θορικοῖ Ἑραικὸν [ν ὦι γεί: βορρά: ἡ δὲ δὸς ἡ.....<sup>11</sup>.....]  
 φέρου: νοτό: Εὐδράο [νὸς-----ὠνη:-----]  
 20 οὺς Εὐωνν: ΗΗ: Χαρ[. . . . .<sup>11</sup>..... ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον Ἀρτ]-  
 [ε]μισιακὸν ἀνασάξι[μ]ο[ν ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς.....<sup>10</sup>.....]  
 [. . .]υς Γαργηττί: ὦι γεί: βορρά: .....<sup>22</sup>.....  
 [. . .]ς Ἐλευσί: πρὸς ἡλί[ου] ἀνιόν:.....<sup>21</sup>.....  
 [. . .]δ]υομένου μέ[τα]λλ: δ' ἐ[ργάζεται.....<sup>19</sup>.....ὦ]-  
 25 [νη:] Φεῖδιππος Φαῦλλο[ν Πιθε:.....<sup>23</sup>.....]  
 [. . .]ιον Ἀρτεμισιακ[ὸν.....<sup>28</sup>.....]  
 [. . .]σ]τράτου Γαρ[γηττί:.....<sup>27</sup>.....]  
 [. . .]Φ]εῖδιππος Π[ιθε:.....<sup>29</sup>.....]  
 [. . .<sup>6</sup>.....] πρὸς ἡλί[ο]ν.....<sup>32</sup>.....  
 30 [. . .<sup>7</sup>.....]ς Μυρρι: [. . . . .<sup>33</sup>.....]  
 [. . .<sup>7</sup>.....]ΤΑΛ[. . . . .<sup>37</sup>.....]  
*lacuna*

*lacuna*

- b* [-----<sup>18</sup>.....]ΙΩ[. . .]Ο[-----]  
 [-----<sup>6</sup>..... ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφε]σιν τοῖ[ς]-----  
 [-----<sup>17</sup>.....] χαράδρ[α]-----  
 35 [-----<sup>15</sup>.....]ένον Δ[.]Ο[-----]  
 [-----<sup>15</sup>.....]: ΨΗΗΗ: Η[-----]

[-----8... ἀπεγράψατο [μ]έτ[αλλον]-----]  
 [-----13... Ερμα{α}ι{κ}δ[ν]-----]  
 [-----13... ιδων στήλην [ἔχον ὦι γεί: βορρᾶ: -----]  
 40 [-----νοτόθ: ἡ ὁδὸς] ἡ ἐπὶ Λαύρειο[ν φέρου: -----]  
 [-----6... ὠνη:] Ἄγνω[ν Θρασίππου] [-----]  
 [-----9... ]ι: μέταλλον ἀπεγράψατο -----]  
 [-----6... ἐμ] Φιλομηλιδῶν στήλην [ἔχον ὦι γεί: βορρᾶ: -----]  
 [-----7... ]ρδαμηττὸς νοτόθ: Ε[-----]  
 45 [-----8... ]ον Ξενοστράτου ἡλ[ίου ----- ὠνη: -----]  
 [-----8... ] Χάρητος Θορίκι: Η[-----]  
 [-----6... μέτ]αλλον ἀπεγράψατο -----]  
 [-----10... ]ιακὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐ[δάφεσιν τοῖς -----]  
 [-----11... ]ι Σμικύθου Θο[ρικ -----]  
 50 [-----11... ]ου ἄγουσα αν[ -----]  
 [-----11... ]ν καὶ ἡ χαράδρ[α ----- ὠνη: -----]  
 [-----11... ]ος Κυδιάδου [----- ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον -----]  
 [-----6... παλαι]ὸν ἀνασάξιμ[ον -----]  
 [-----10... ἡ] ὁδὸς ἡ εἰς Θ[ορικὸν ----- φέρουσα -----]  
 55 [-----9... μέτα]λλον δ Κυ[διάδης ἐργάζεται -----]  
 [-----13... ]θένης Α[-----]  
 [-----13... ]ΗΡ: Εὐ[-----]  
 [-----15... ]ΟΙ[-----]

*lacuna*

Line 3, *lapis* ΚΑΛΛΙΣΧΟΥ. Line 5 Ἐπι[κράτους χωρίον] Crosby. Line 6 Θαλιν[ὸ]ι Θουτιμίδης Σουνι: Crosby; for objections to this restoration, see Eliot, *Coastal Demes*, p. 88. Line 11 χωρία τὰ [Τελέσωνος (?) Crosby. Lines 19–20 ὠνη: Ἐπικράτης Ἰσοκράτ]ους Crosby. Lines 26–27 [ὸν στήλην ἔχον ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς] [[Φανος(?)] τράτου Γαρ[γηττί: ὦι γεί: βορρᾶ: Λυσιθείδης Κικ: (?) Crosby. Line 39 ἐμ Φιλομηλιδῶν Crosby; [--- πα]ιδων Eliot, *Coastal Demes*, pp. 94–95, note 67. Lines 42–43 ἀπεγράψατο παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμ[ον Θ] [[ορικοῖ ἐμ] Eliot, *loc. cit.* Lines 44–45 ἐ[ργαστήριον (?). . . 7. . . ἀνιόν: ἐ] [[ργαστήρι(?)]ον Crosby. Line 48 ἐ[δάφεσιν τοῖς Νικίου] Crosby. Line 49 Θο[ρικί: χωρίον νοτόθ: ἡ ἀτραπὸς ἡ] Crosby.

The date depends on Crosby's reading and restoration of lines 7–8 [ἐπ' Εὐβο] [ύλου and acceptance of her argument that this was the renewal of a seven-year lease. On the other hand, Hopper (*BSA* 48, 1953, p. 215) suggests [ἐπὶ Θεοφ] [ύλου and a three-year lease, so a date of 345/4. Alternatively, if Crosby's reading is correct, but the length of lease was three and not seven years, then the date would be 342/1. The first letter of line 8 preserves only the lower part of a central vertical hasta, and so both readings are epigraphically possible. Crosby's has the better chance of being correct because it gives a normal length of 47 letters for line 7, while Hopper's gives one letter too many.

**P30.** Three non-joining fragments of Hymettian marble from the same stele. Fragment *a* (I 3983 + 6030) is composed of two joining fragments which were found on April 7, 1936, and July 1, 1947, both in a marble dump west of the Odeion. Fragment *b* (I 3806) was found on March 19, 1936, in a modern context north of the Odeion (M 8). Both fragments preserve a rough-picked back surface but are otherwise broken on all sides.

*a*: H. 0.217 m.; W. 0.28 m.; Th. 0.10 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.

*b*: H. 0.085 m.; W. 0.132 m.; Th. 0.10 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.

*a, b*, stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.006 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 267–269, no. 21, photograph pls. 93, 94.

*ca. a.* 340/39 *a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 42

*lacuna*

*a* [.....21.....]I[.....20.....]  
 [.....20.....]ου: Α[.....18.....]

- [.....<sup>42</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>10</sup>.....]I[.....<sup>11</sup>.....]O[.....<sup>19</sup>.....]  
 5 [.....<sup>9</sup>.....]; I[.....<sup>8</sup>.....]I[.....<sup>19</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>9</sup>.....]Ω[.....<sup>32</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>42</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>9</sup>.....]OE[.....<sup>31</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>11</sup>.....]ΦI[.....<sup>29</sup>.....]  
 10 [.....<sup>7</sup>.....]O[.....]OY[.....]I[.....<sup>24</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>7</sup>.....]ΩI[.....<sup>6</sup>.....]IΛ[.....]Σ[.....<sup>20</sup>.....]Ἐκφ]-  
 [αντίδη]ς Θεο[δῶρ]ο[υ] Δεκελε[ε: μέταλλον ἀπεγράψατο π]-  
 [αλαιὸν] ἀν[α]σάξι Π[λ]ουτ[ω]ν[ιακὸν .....<sup>17</sup>.....]  
 [... ἐν τ]οῖς ἐδάφε[σ]ιν [τ]οῖς] Ἐπ[.....<sup>19</sup>.....]  
 15 [χαράδρ]α ἡ εἰς Ἀνά[φ]λυ[στο]ν φ[έρου]σα ν[οτόθ]: .....<sup>8</sup>.....  
 [...<sup>6</sup>.....]ης καλούμ[ε]: πρ[ὸς ἡλίου ἀ]νιό[ς:] E[.....<sup>11</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>6</sup>.....]ωνη: Ἐκφαν[τί]δη[ς Θεοδῶρ]ου Δεκελ[εε: .....<sup>7</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>6</sup>.....]εοκλέους [...<sup>6</sup>.....]Σ[..... μέταλ]λον ἀπεγ[ράψατο .....]  
 [...<sup>6</sup>.....]παλ]αῖον ἀνασ[ξιμον στή]λη[ν] ἔχον Εὐδῶ[τειον ἐν τ]-  
 20 [οῖς ἐδά]φεσιν τοῖς[.....<sup>11</sup>.....] ὧι γεί[τ]: πρ[ὸς ἡλίου]  
 [ἀνιόν:] καὶ νοτόθ[: .....<sup>8</sup>.....]φ[.]ια: πρὸς [ἡλίου δυομ:]  
 [καὶ βορ]ρᾶ: Ἀντισ[θένους .....<sup>22</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>6</sup>.....]εοκλέους [...<sup>6</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>7</sup>.....]: ἀπεγρ[άψατο .....<sup>24</sup>.....]  
 25 [...<sup>11</sup>.....]I[.....<sup>30</sup>.....]

lacuna

Col. I

Col. II

lacuna

- b [.....<sup>36</sup>.....]ON[.....]E[.....] [.....<sup>41</sup>.....σ]-  
 [.....<sup>34</sup>.....] Ἐλευσίν: vs: E[.....<sup>36</sup>.....ἐρ]-  
 [.....<sup>37</sup>.....]ιογ: Νι γαστή[ριον .....<sup>29</sup>.....πρὸς]  
 30 [.....<sup>37</sup>.....]ς Ἀχαρ ἡλίο[υ .....<sup>37</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>40</sup>.....]E[.....] μοκρ[.....<sup>38</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>41</sup>.....]O μου[.....<sup>39</sup>.....]

lacuna

Line 14 Ἐπ[ιζήλου (?)] Crosby. Line 20 τοῖς Ἀντισθένης (?) Crosby. Line 22 Ἀντισθένης Κυθηρρ: ἐδάφη ὠνη:] Crosby.

In line 13 the second preserved letter consists of two vertical strokes, while the fourth is only a right-hand diagonal. With the former letter read as nu and the latter as alpha, ἀνασάξι is likely, even though there is no punctuation following and six lines below the word is written out in full. Yet the reading of the xi, which is clear on the stone, clinches the word and allows sense to be made of the following letters as the name of a mine, Ploutoniakon. Crosby (*Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 248) argued for this mine name in P26, lines 162–163, and the new reading here goes some way towards confirming her conjecture.

**P31.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 5511), broken on all sides and at the back, found on May 16, 1938, in a late Hellenistic context in the area of the propylon of the Tholos (G 12).

H. 0.076 m.; W. 0.105 m.; Th. 0.018 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.; stichedon, with a square checker of 0.006 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 254, no. 17, photograph pl. 93.

ca. a. 340/39 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Col. I

Col. II

lacuna

	[-----]K	[.]ατης [-----]
	[-----]IA	δουσα Α[-----]
	[-----]υ]οτο	ἔδοξεν [-----] ἐνεπί]-
5	[-----]ΝΑΠ	σκημμα [-----]
	[-----]φειλ	ηψατο Ε[-----]
		ρίωι τῶ[ι-----]

lacuna

**P32.** Two non-joining fragments of Hymettian marble probably from the same stele. Fragment *a* (I 6354), preserving the original right side, was found on May 10, 1951, in disturbed fill just west of the altar of Zeus (J 10). Fragment *b* (I 6016), broken on all sides, was found on June 18, 1947, in the pillaged wall trench for the retaining wall of the Middle Stoa (I 12).

*a*: H. 0.182 m.; W. 0.104 m.; Th. 0.063 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.

*b*: H. 0.042 m.; W. 0.044 m.; Th. 0.01 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.

*a, b*, stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.006 m.

Ed. *a*: M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 15–18, no. S6, photograph pl. 1; *SEG* XVI, 127; *b*: M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 275, no. 27, photograph pl. 95.

ca. a. 335/4 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

<i>a</i>	[-----]ρρι:
	[μέταλλον ἀπεγράψατο -----]: Ἀθηνα-
	[ικὸν -----] ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τ]οῖς Λεωχά-
	[ρους -----] ᾧ γεί: πρὸς ἡλίου] ἀνιόντος:
5	[-----] τὸ Ἡ]ρώιον δυομέν-
	[ου: -----] κεσα εἰς τὴν ἀγ-
	[ορὰν -----] νοτό]θ δὸς ἡ εἰς ἀγ-
	[ορὰν -----] βορρᾶ:] Λεωχάρης Λεο
	[-----] ἐκ] Κερα: ΠΗΗΗΗ: Ἄν
10	[-----] μέταλλον] ἀπεγράψατο ἐκ
	[-----] υς πραθέντων
	[-----] άτης Εὐωνυμ
	[-----] χον δ ἡργάζ-
	[ετο -----] τ: Ἀντικρ-
15	[άτης -----] Ἀ]ντιφῶντος
	[-----] ν Φυλακ
	[-----] νίκου
	[-----] οντος
	[-----] το Ο
20	[-----] ου

lacuna

lacuna

<i>b</i>	[-----] ΗΠΔΔ:[-----]
	[-----] ἀπεγρ]άψατο μ[έταλλον-----]
	[-----] ἐπὶ Θρασ]ύμωι [-----]

lacuna



Line 1 [Μυ]ρρι: *vel* [Φρεά]ρρι:. Line 5 [ἐργαστήριον Λεωχάρους καὶ τὸ 'Η] Crosby. Lines 7–8 [οῖον τὴν Βησαιῶν φέρουσα νοτόθ] ὁδὸς ἡ εἰς ἀγ[οῖαν τὴν Βησαιῶν φέρουσα βορρά:] Crosby. Lines 8–9 Λεοχάρης Λέο[ντος (?) Κόπρι:] Crosby. Lines 10–11 ἐκ [τῶν μετάλλων τῶν ἐπὶ. . . . .] vs Crosby. Lines 12–13 [δ' Ἐπι(?)κρ]άτης Εὐωνυμ [ἀπεγράψατο (?) ὧι γεί: βορ:] Crosby.

Crosby thought it possible that **P21**, **P22**, and fragment *a* of **P32** belonged to the same stele, especially because of their common use of the unabbreviated form ἀνιόντος. This is not a safe conclusion, however, since the word is entirely restored in **P21** and **P22**. There are no certain abbreviations in **P21** and **P22**, while fragment *a* of **P32** does make use of them. Despite other similarities, in marble and lettering, these fragments are therefore kept separate.

**P33.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 2000), broken on all sides, found in 1934 in a marble pile in the southwest part of the Agora Square.

H. 0.105 m.; W. 0.204 m.; Th. 0.091 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.006 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 274–275, no. 26, photograph pl. 96.

ca. a. 330/29 (?) a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

	27	Διότι[μος]	-----
	11	ἀπεγράψατο μέ[ταλλον ἐπὶ]	-----
	21	Ἀφροδισ[ι]α[κὸν ὧι γεί: βορρ:]	-----
	17	νοτόθ: Θρα[σ]υ[	-----
5		πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν: Δ[ιο]τίμο[υ] ἐ[ργα]στ[ήριον]	-----
	11	]ος Ἀλωπ[εκ]ῆ: ὦνη: Δ[ιό]τ[ιμος]	-----
	11	Φεῖδων Λ[υ]σ[ί]ο[υ] Αἰξω[νε: ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον]	-----
	19	] ἐν τοῖς ἐδ[άφεσιν τοῖς]	-----
	13	ὧι γεί: βορρ: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ	-----
10	20	]ΑΝ[. .]Ο[	-----
	19	μ]έταλ[λον]	-----

*lacuna*

Lines 1–2 Διότι[μος Διοπίθο]||[vs Εὐω:] Crosby. Lines 6–7 Δ[ιό]τ[ιμος Ε]||[ὑω: ΔΔ:] Crosby.

**P34.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 4967), preserving part of the original left side and smooth back, found on June 11, 1937, in a late Roman wall northeast of the Odeion (N 7).

H. 0.189 m.; W. 0.19 m.; Th. 0.07 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.007 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 275–277, no. 28, photograph pl. 95; *SEG XXVIII*, 133.

ca. a. 330/29 (?) a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

	[. . Ἐπ]αμείνου[ος] το[	-----	ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ]
	[εἰς] Θορικὸν φέρουσ[α]	-----	
	[. . .] Θορικίου πρὸς ἡ[λίον]	-----	
	[. . ὕ]δατος ἐξαγωγή[	-----	
5	[.]τοῦ Αἰσχυλίδου Θο[ρ]ικί[ου]	-----	κα]-
	[ι]νοτομία ἣν ἐργάζεται [	-----	Ἐπ]-
	αμείνονος Θορικίου δυ[	-----	
	s Περγασῆθεν ἀπεγρ[άψατο μέταλλον]	-----	πα]-
	ίδων τῶν Διοτίμου Θρ[ιασίου]	-----	φέ]-
10	ρουσα ν[ο]τόθεν κα[ιν]ο[τομία]	-----	
	κίου καὶ τὰ ἐδάφη [τ]ῶν [	-----	ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐπ]-
	ἰ Λαύρε[ιο]ν φέρο[υσ]α [	-----	

*lacuna*

Lines 8–9 [ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσιν τοῖς πα]||ίδων Crosby.

**P35.** Two non-joining fragments of Pentelic marble probably from the same stele. Fragment *a* (I 4944 a) is composed of two joining pieces which preserve part of the original right side and bottom; fragment *b* (I 4944 b) is broken on all sides. Both fragments were found on June 9, 1937, in a disturbed context southeast of the Tholos (G 12).

*a*: H. 0.097 m.; W. 0.105 m.; Th. 0.037 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.

*b*: H. 0.05 m.; W. 0.078 m.; Th. 0.011 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.

*a*, *b*, stoichedon, with a square checker of 0.006 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 277–278, no. 29, photograph pl. 96; *SEG* XXVIII, 134.

ca. a. 330/29 (?) a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

*a* [-----] ]ΕΙ[. . .]  
 [----- μέταλλ]ον ἀπε-  
 [γράφατο -----] Ἀ[ρτ]εμισι-  
 [ακὸν ----- Λυσιθείδου π]αίδων Κικ<sup>υ</sup>-  
 5 [υν: ----- ]ν ἐπὶ Λαύρει<sup>υ</sup>-  
 [ον ----- ]ν Βήσα[ζ]ε φέρ<sup>υ</sup>-  
 [ουσα ----- τῶν] Λυσιθείδου<sup>υ</sup>  
 [παίδων Κικυν: ----- Σ]υβρίδου χωρ<sup>υ</sup>-  
 [ίον ----- ὦνη -----] ΔΔ vacat  
vacat

*lacuna*

*b* 10 [-----] Θορίκι: [-----]  
 [----- πα]λαιὸν ἀνα[σάξιμον -----]  
 [-----] Ἑρμαικὸν Ε[-----]  
 [----- τ]οῖς Φρε[-----]  
lacuna

Crosby believed that lines 2–8 recorded the lease of the same Artemisiakon at Thorikos as **P27**, lines 100–104 and **P28**, lines 4–9, and she restored the present text accordingly:

[-----μέταλλ]ον ἀπε-  
 [γράφατο παλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον Θορικοῖ] Ἀ[ρτ]εμισι-  
 [ακὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφε: τοῖς Λυσιθείδου π]αίδων Κικ<sup>υ</sup>-  
 [υν: ὧι γεί: βορρᾶ: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐκ Θορικο]ῦ ἐπὶ Λαύρει<sup>υ</sup>-  
 [ον φέρουσα νοτόθ: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἐκ Θορικο]ῦ Βήσα[ζ]ε φέρ<sup>υ</sup>-  
 [ουσα πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνιόν: τὰ ἐδάφη τῶν] Λυσιθείδου<sup>υ</sup>  
 [παίδων Κικυν: ἡλίου δυο: . . . 7 . . . Σ]υβρίδου χωρ<sup>υ</sup>-  
 [ίον ὦνη: -----] vacat

Crosby assigned this inscription to the years around 330/29 because of the mention of the children of Lysitheidēs of Kikynna, who she believed died ca. 335 (cf. *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 220). For objections to this, see Hopper, *BSA* 48, 1953, p. 215, note 113, and Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families*, p. 357. A date around 330 might still be possible for the inscription if Lysikrates is excluded from the group of Lysitheidēs' children to which the inscription refers.

**P36.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 4783), broken on all sides, found on May 5, 1937, in a late Roman disturbance of a Classical floor west of the Tholos (H 11).

H. 0.04 m.; W. 0.098 m.; Th. 0.01 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.006 m. and a vertical checker of 0.007 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 278, no. 30, photograph pl. 96.

ca. a. 330/29 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*vacat*

[-----<sup>12</sup>.....'Α]φ[ι]δναι[-----]  
 [-----<sup>12</sup>.....]οις ὦι γεί[-----]  
 [-----<sup>7</sup>.....]βορρᾶ Ἀνδροκλέ[ους-----]  
 [-----<sup>6</sup>.....]ε δυομένον τὸ ῥο[-----]  
 5 [-----<sup>6</sup>.....]ν νοτόθ[-----]

*lacuna*

**P37.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 680), broken on all sides, found on April 11, 1933, in a Roman context in the Great Drain, east of the Tholos (I 11).

H. 0.165 m.; W. 0.097 m.; Th. 0.043 m.; L.H. 0.006 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.014 m. and a vertical checker of 0.013 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 279, no. 31, photograph pl. 96.

ca. a. 320/19 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[-----<sup>19</sup>.....]Ο[-----]  
 [-----<sup>10</sup>..... ἐπὶ Θρα]σύμω[ι-----]  
 [-----<sup>13</sup>.....]ἀπ[ε]γράψ[ατο-----]  
 [-----<sup>11</sup>.....]ἐν τοῖς ἐδά[φ]εσιν τοῖς-----]  
 5 [-----<sup>11</sup>.....]ἀνα]σάξιμο[ν-----]  
 [-----<sup>11</sup>.....]ὦι γεί: πρὸς ἡλί: ἀ]νιό: Μοσ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>11</sup>.....]πρὸ]ς ἡλί: δυ[ο:-----]  
 [-----<sup>14</sup>.....]ον νοτό[-----]  
 [-----<sup>14</sup>.....]ν βορ: Δ[-----]  
 10 [-----<sup>14</sup>.....]: ὠνη: Εμ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>14</sup>.....]λλιστρ[-----]  
 [-----<sup>14</sup>.....]Διοκλε[-----]

*lacuna*

Crosby suggested the date, based on the resemblance of letter forms to those in inscriptions dating to around 320.

**P38.** Two non-joining fragments of white marble probably from the same stele. Fragment *a* was removed from Greece by Lord Elgin and taken to England where it is now housed in the British Museum. Fragment *b*, said to have been found in the northern part of Athens, is now in the Berlin Museum. Both fragments preserve the original left side but are otherwise broken all around.

*a*: H. 0.275 m.; W. 0.275 m.

*b*: H. 0.22 m.; W. 0.22 m.; Th. 0.078 m.; L.H. 0.005 m.

Ed. *a*: F. Osann, *Sylloge inscriptionum antiquarum graecarum et latinarum* I, Jena 1822, p. 105, no. 31; A. Boeckh, *CIG* I, 162; E. L. Hicks, *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* I, Oxford 1874, pp. 98–101, no. 36; U. Koehler, *IG* II, 780; J. Kirchner, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1587. Cf. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 279–281, no. 32. *b*: A. von Velsen, *AZ* 1854, cols. 463–466; U. Koehler, *IG* II, 781; J. Kirchner, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1588. Cf. M. Crosby, *loc. cit.*

ca. a. 320/19 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

*a* [.....<sup>ca. 13</sup>.....]Λ[-----]  
 [.....]κίων: οἷς γεί[των-----]

- [π]αρά τὸ Δημητριακὸν[ν -----]  
 γων καλούμενος: ὦνη: Ἀγνόθεος [ -----]  
 5 Ἀφροδισιακόν: ἐπὶ Θρασύμωι: Αρ[ ----- καινο]-  
 τομίαν Ἀφρο(δι)σιακόν: ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφε[σιν τοῖς ----- πρὸς  
 ἡλίου ἀνιόντος -----]  
 μενος δυομένου τὸ ἐργαστήριον τὸ Δ[ -----]  
 [δ] ἡργάζετο Τελεσικλῆς Καλλίου Ἀραφ[ήνιος -----]  
 Θορικοῖ: Δημητριακόν: ἡ χαράδρα καλουμέ[νη -----]  
 10 ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος δευτέρας πρυτανείας -----]  
 τὸ Διφίλειον καλούμενον δ ἀπεγράψατο [ -----]  
 ὦν: Καλλιμέδων Καλλικράτου Κολλ: ΕΓΠΟ[ -----]  
 ἀνασάξιμα *vacat*  
 [Ἀ]μφιτροπήσιν Ἀθηναικὸν Κόνων Κόνω[νος -----]  
 15 [Ἀ]θηναικὸν καὶ συντομᾶς Ἀμφιτροπή[σι -----]  
 [ . δ]δὸς: ἡλίου δυομένου ὁδὸς ἀνιόντ[ος -----]  
 [Ἀρτ]εμισιακόν: Θορικοῖ Εὐφημίδης Κη[φισοδώρου Ἀθμο ἀπεγράψατο ---]  
 [ἐν τοῖς] ἐδάφεσι τοῖς Ἐπαμείνωνος Θ[ορικίου -----]  
 [ὦν: Εὐφημίδης Κη]φισοδώρου Ἀθμο: ΗΠ[ -----]  
 20 [ . . . . .<sup>ca. 7</sup> . . . . . μέταλλο]ν παλαιὸν ἀνασά[ξιμον -----]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>ca. 12</sup> . . . . . ἡ ὁδ]ὸς ἡ ἀ[πὸ] Λαυρε[ίου -----]  
 [ . . . . .<sup>ca. 19</sup> . . . . .]ΚΥΝΤ[ -----]  
*lacuna*

*lacuna*

- b* [ . . .<sup>ca. 7</sup> . . . . . ἐν τοῖς ἐδ]άφεσιν τοῖς ----- ὧι γείτων βορρᾶθεν -----]  
 [ . ]ερίσκειο[ν] νοτόθεν μέτ[αλλον -----]  
 25 [ὦ]ν: Ἐπικύδης Φιλοκύδους Ἀ[χαρν]ε: -----  
 Ἐρμαυικόν: Ἐπικύδης Φ[ιλ]οκύδου[ς] Ἀχαρνε: ----- ἀνασάξι-  
 μον στήλην ἔχον Ἐρμαυικὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφεσι τοῖς ----- ὧι γείτων  
 βορρᾶ: κάμινος Δημοφίλου καὶ ΟΥΑΝ[ -----]  
 νοτόθεν: μέταλλον Ἀρτεμισιακ[ὸν ----- ὦν:]  
 30 Ἐπικύδης Φιλοκύδους Ἀχαρνε: Η[ -----]  
 ἐπὶ Σουνίω Ποσειδωνιακόν: Θεό[φιλος ----- μέταλλον]  
 ἀνασάξιμον στήλην ἔχον Ποσειδωνιακόν ----- ὧι γείτων βορρᾶ:  
 Ἀρτεμισιακὸν νοτόθε: ὁδὸς ἀπὸ [----- ἡλίου ἀνιόντος -----]  
 δυομένου μέταλλον: ὦνη: [Θε]όφιλος [ -----]  
 35 [Β]ήσ<η>σι Λευ[κ]ίππειον Εὐμηλ[ί]δης ----- ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον  
 [ἀ]νασάξιμον στήλην ἔχον: [Λ]ε[υκί]ππειον ----- ὧι γείτων  
 βορρᾶθεν: ἐδάφη Δρομοκ[λε]ίδου ----- ἡλίου  
 ἀνιόντος ἐδάφη [ -----]  
 [Εὐ]μηλίδης Λυ[ -----]  
 40 [ἐπὶ Σ]ουνίω -----]  
*lacuna*

Line 6, *lapis* ΑΦΡΟΣΙΑΚΟΝ. Line 7 τὸ Δ[ιφίλειον καλούμενον ---] Kirchner. Line 18 οἷς γείτων Kirchner; Θ[ορικίου] Crosby. Line 23 [--- ὧι γείτων βορρᾶθεν μέταλλον] Kirchner. Line 28 καὶ οὗ ἂν [μετέχει κοινού ---] Kirchner. Line 35, *lapis* [ . ]ΗΣΕΣΙ; Εὐμηλ[ί]δης Λυκίου Συβρίδ: Kirchner.

Crosby suggested a date of 320/19 for the inscription, while Hopper (*BSA* 47, 1953, p. 252, note 380) favors a slightly earlier date. Neither Crosby nor I examined either stone.

**P39.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 6287), broken on all sides but possibly preserving part of the original rough-picked back, found on May 22, 1950, in a marble pile north of the Eleusinion.

H. 0.17 m.; W. 0.30 m.; Th. 0.125 m.; L.H. 0.005–0.006 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 18–19, no. S7, photograph pl. 3; *SEG* XVI, 128.

ca. a. 320/19 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

[-----]της Β[-----]  
 [-----]ἀνα]σάξιμον [-----]  
 [-----]τὸ Ἄρ]τέμιδος ἱερὸν ΧΥ[-----]  
 [-----]κράτης Ἀμφικράτ[ους -----]  
 5 [-----]Ἀριστοκράτ]ου Τειθρά: ἀπεγρά[ψατο μέτ]α[λλον -----]  
 [-----] γῶνι καλουμένω[ι ὦ]μι γεί βορρ: Μ[-----]  
 [-----]Υ]ποτραγῶν δυομένου Φιλοκράτ[-----]  
 [-----]ὠνη -----]Ἀρι]στοκ[ρά]του Τειθράσιος<sup>ν</sup> ΟΥ[-----]  
 [-----]ἀνασά]ξιμον στήλην ἔχον Νυνφαικὸ[ν -----]  
 10 [-----]έου ἡλίου ἀνιόντος [-----]  
 [-----]Ἐλπίου Ἀναφλυ[-----]  
 [-----]ΙΣ[-----]

lacuna

Line 6 [---ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ (?) τῷ Ὑποτρα]γῶνι Woodhead.

**P40.** Two fragments of Hymettian marble probably from the same stele. Fragment *a* (E.M. 7959), from the upper left corner, preserves part of the left side, the left half of the crowning pediment, and the rough-picked back surface. It was found west of the Tower of the Winds. Fragment *b* (I 1723), broken on all sides, was found on March 30, 1934, in a late context in the Bouleuterion Plateia (F 11).

*a*: H. 0.24 m.; W. 0.22 m.; Th. at top 0.067 m., at bottom 0.05 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.

*b*: H. 0.19 m.; W. 0.074 m.; Th. 0.022 m.; L.H. 0.005 m.

*a*, *b*, stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.009 m. and a vertical checker of 0.010–0.011 m.

Ed. *a*: S. A. Koumanoudes, *Ἐφ' Ἀρχ* 1890, col. 222; U. Koehler, *IG* II 5, 780 b; J. Kirchner, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1589; M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 282–283, no. 34, photograph pl. 97. *b*: M. Crosby, *loc. cit.* *a* and *b*, cf. *SEG* XXVIII, 136.

a. 307/6 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*a* Πωληταὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀναξικρ[άτους ἄρχοντος -----]  
 μέταλλα τάδε ἀπέδοντο [ἐπὶ τῆς -----]  
 [s] πρώτης πρυτανείας [-----]  
 [. . .]αι ἱσταμένου π[-----]Ἀρτ]-  
 5 [εμ]σιακὸν Ε[-----]

lacuna

*b*

lacuna

[-----<sup>14</sup>.....]Ι[-----]  
 [-----<sup>12</sup>.....]ς Πυανω[ψιδῶνος -----]  
 [-----<sup>7</sup>... ἐργά]σιμα<sup>ν</sup> Φ[-----]  
 [-----] ἀπεγράψατο μ[έταλλο]ν -----]  
 10 [-----<sup>12</sup>.....]άχειον [-----]  
 [-----<sup>6</sup>... στήλη]ν ἔχον Δημ[ητριάκον -----]

[----- . . ἐν τοῖς ἐδάφε]σι τοῖς [-----]  
 [----- . . . . . 15 . . . . .]ν Θορ[-----]  
 [----- . . . . . 16 . . . . .]ΩΠΙ[-----]

*lacuna*

Lines 3–4 *πρυτανείας* [ὑ<sup>ε</sup> Εκατομβαιῶνος δειν][τέρ]αι ἱσταμένον π[αλαιὸν ἀνασάξιμον] Crosby. Lines 6–8 [τρίτης] |[πρυτα-  
 νεία]ς Πυανω[ψιῶνος δευτέραι ἱσταμ][ένου] Crosby. Lines 9–10 [ἐκ τῆς στηλῆς τῆς ἐπὶ Ν][ικοδήμου (?) Λ]άχειον Crosby.

**P41.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 2015), broken on all sides, found in November 1934, in a marble pile in the area of the Tholos.

H. 0.12 m.; W. 0.147 m.; Th. 0.052 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 283–284, no. 35, photograph pl. 97.

*fin. saec. IV a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[-----]ΜΥ[-----]  
 [-----]ος τοῦ Καλλ[-----]  
 [-----]ν]οτό καινοτομ[ία-----]  
 [-----]οκλείδου Σουνι[-----]  
 5 [-----]α ἐπὶ Θρασύμωι [-----]  
 [-----]πρὸς ἡλίου δυομ[-----]

*lacuna*

**P42.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (E.M. 7958), preserving the top and original left side, found in Piraeus.

H. 0.18 m.; W. 0.16 m.; Th. 0.075 m.; L.H. lines 1–2, 0.11 m., lines 3–11, 0.005 m.

Ed. S. A. Koumanoudes, *Ἀθήναιον* 8, 1879, p. 273; U. Koehler, *IG* II, 779; J. Kirchner, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1581.

*fin. saec. IV a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[τ]άδ' ἐπράθη ἐδά[φη-----]  
 ἀτίμητα ὄντα [-----]  
 Ξενοκλέους Ἀντιγένους Σημ[αχίδου-----]  
 Πολυκλέους Τεισίππου Εὐω[νυμέως-----]  
 5 Λυσιστράτου Ἀλαιέ[ως-----]  
 Θεοδώρου Λυσανίου Λουσι[έως-----]  
 Κλεοχάρους Κλεοστράτου Λ[-----]  
 [Ἀ]ρχεστράτου Ξανθιππί[δου-----]  
 Τιμαρχίδου Φ[-----]  
 10 [᾽Ο]φέλου [-----]  
 [. .]Τ[-----]

*lacuna*

As noted by Crosby (*Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 285, note 77), contra Kirchner, it is a projecting molding and not two initial lines which are broken off above the first preserved line.

**P43** (Pl. 11). Two fragments of Pentelic marble from the same stele. Fragment *a* (I 7427) preserves an inscribed front face and part of the left side, which is also inscribed as far as preserved. It was found on July 1, 1972, in a marble pile near the Stoa Basileios (G–H 3–4). Fragment *b* (I 1980), broken on all sides, was found during May 1934, in a marble dump in the area of the Tholos.

*a*: H. 0.07 m.; W. 0.10 m.; Th. 0.05 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.

*b*: H. 0.067 m.; W. 0.09 m.; Th. 0.043 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.

*a*, Face A, stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.007 m. and a vertical checker of 0.006 m.

Both fragments are unpublished.

## Face A

saec. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

a [-----] Ἀρτεμι]-  
 σιακὸν ἐν [τοῖς ἐδάφεσι τοῖς -----] ὧι γείτων βορρ]-  
 ἄθεν ὁ λόφος [-----] νοτόθεν -----]  
 κάμνος Ο[-----] ὦνη -----]  
 5 Θουτιμίδ[-----]  
 ἀπεγράψα[το-----] στήλην]  
 ἔχον Ἑφαι[στιακὸν-----]  
 βορρᾶθε[ν-----] ἐργ]-  
 αστήριον [-----]  
 10 τὸ Διοπεΐ[θους ἐργαστήριον-----]  
 [. . .] ΣΙ[-----]

lacuna

## Face B

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

lacuna

a [-----] Γ  
 [-----] ΟΝ  
 [-----] ΡΓΑ  
 15 [-----] ΑΝ  
 [-----] Ο[.ΑΝ  
 [-----] ισ[. .] ου ἐργασ-  
 τήριον -----] ήλου ἐργασ-  
 τήριον -----] δ ήρ] γάζετο Καλ  
 20 [-----] ε Καλλισθένο-  
 υς -----] Η: Δείνων Δει-  
 νίου Ἑρχι -----] ΗΨ: Δημητρ  
 [-----]

lacuna

lacuna

b [-----] ἐν τοῖς χώροις [-----]  
 25 [-----] ΚΑΛΙΠ[.] ἐνοφείλε[σθαι -----]  
 [-----] ΔΗΜΑΙΧ[. . .] Ἀναγν[ρ]ασ[ιο-----]  
 [-----] ΕΝ[.] ΑΙ[. .] ΑΔΟΣ[.] ΤΑ[-----]  
 [-----] ΑΓ[.] Σ[.] ΤΕΙΕΑΤΟΥΜ[-----]  
 [-----] ΛΕ[.] ουθούσης τη[-----]  
 30 [-----] ΗΗΗΗ[.] ΕΝΟ[-----]  
 [-----] ΟΑΜΙ[-----]  
 [-----] ΝΑΠ[-----]

lacuna

The length of line of Face A seems to be about 40 letters. The stoichedon unit is square, 0.008 m. on a side. There were apparently at least two columns on Face A, and when space ran out the mason used the left lateral face for the remainder of his text, crowding the letters to use as little space as possible.

A workshop of Diopeithes (line 10) is mentioned in P5, line 55, but the present text cannot be that early because of the genitives in ου and the general character of the lettering on Face B. The lettering of Face A suggests a date after the middle of the century, in with the series of opisthographic stelai recording many leases, but the non-use of abbreviations militates against this and suggests a later date.

**P44.** Fragment of marble known only from a copy by Fourmont.

Ed. A. Boeckh, *CIG* I, 163; U. Koehler, *IG* II, 783; J. Kirchner, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1586; M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 285, no. 38.

*saec.* IV *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ?

[. . . . .]AI[.]TIM[ -----]  
 [. . . . .]εισοδοτο[ -----]  
 [. . . . .]ΤΟΥΚΙΙ[.]N[.]K[ -----]  
 [. . . . .]ο ἡ]ργάζετο [ -----]  
 5 [. . . . .]HHKΛ[.]K[ -----]  
 [. . . . .]AKAPΓX[ -----]  
 [. . . . .]N[.]MYAIK[ -----]  
 [. . . . .]ἀπεγράψατο [κα]ιννο[ομί]αν ΓΡΑΙ[-----]  
 [. . . . .]ηκὸν INTΩN[.]Λ[ -----]  
 10 [ὦι γ]είτ[ω]ν π[ρὸ]ς ἡλ[ίου] ἀν[ιό]ν[τ]ο[ς] -----  
 [. . . . .]ΛΙΟΓΥΡΙ[.]Σ δυομέ ΔΙΑ[.]ΙΑ καὶ Ο[.]Ο[ -----]  
 ανομος ΔΙΟΦΕΙΩΝ ἐπὶ τῶν ΤΕΛΠΕ[.]Υ[-----]  
 [. . . . .]Ἀντιδότον ἐργαστήρι[ο]ν νο[τόθεν] -----  
 ΥΑΛΙΩ[ -----]  
 15 [Ἡ]ρα[κ]λείδ[η]ς Σωσ[ισ]τρατί[δο]ν Ἀχ[.]ρ[--- ἀπεγράψατο μέταλλον ---]  
 [. . . . .]ΑΡΙΚ[.]ΛΛΕΞΙΜΕΝΟΙΠΕΡΙΑΣ[ -----]  
 [. . . . .]12 ΕΠΙΤΙ[.]ΙΑΝ[-----]

Lines 11–12 δια[κρ]ία καὶ ὁ[δ]ός[---] Boeckh. [ἐπ][ὶ]δ[ό]νομος Kirchner. διαρεῶν for ΔΙΟΦΕΙΩΝ R. J. Hopper, *BSA* 63, 1968, p. 323, note 250. Line 15 Ἀχ[α]ρ[νεύς] Koehler; Σωστρατί[δο]ν Ἀχ[ε]ρ[δούσιος] D. Whitehead, “The Tribes of the Thirty Tyrants,” *JHS* 100, 1980 (pp. 208–212), p. 210, n. 21. Line 16 Ἀλ[ε]ξιμέν[ο]ν (?) Koehler.

The text is a combination of Fourmont and Kirchner. Crosby warned that Kirchner shifted letters to fit restorations. But since several lines construe plausibly with Kirchner’s renderings and not with Fourmont’s, lines 10 and 15 for example, it may be that the text was inscribed non-stoichedon and that Fourmont regularized the letter spacing in his sketch, giving it a false stoichedon appearance.

**P45.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 1447), preserving part of the smoothed bottom and original rough-dressed back, found on March 3, 1934, on the surface in the Bouleuterion Plateia (F 11).

H. 0.124 m.; W. 0.09 m.; Th. 0.11 m.; L.H. 0.004–0.005 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 16, 1947, pp. 149–150, no. 39, photograph pl. 23.

*saec.* IV *a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[-----]λοκ[-----]  
 [-----]εισιδρι[-----]  
 [-----]αι κηρύκεια Η[-----]

*vacat*

**P46** (Pl. 11). Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 1803), broken all around, found on April 17, 1934, in a late Classical well west of the Tholos (F 11–12).

H. 0.102 m.; W. 0.034 m.; Th. 0.052 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.006 m. and a vertical checker of 0.007 m.

Unpublished.



saec. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[---...<sup>11</sup>...].ο[-----]  
 [---...<sup>10</sup>...].λετ[-----]  
 [---...<sup>10</sup>...].κων[-----]  
 [---...<sup>10</sup>...].ν νοτ[ό-----]  
 5 [---...<sup>10</sup>...].ενοχ[-----]  
 [---...<sup>7</sup>... ἀπε]γρά[ψατο-----]  
 [---...<sup>10</sup>... ὧι γεί]βο[ρρᾶ-----]  
 [---...<sup>10</sup>...].οφ[-----]

*lacuna*

I have not seen this fragment. M. B. Walbank informed me of its existence, and the text is his. He notes that the fragment is similar to P18, but he does not feel that it belongs.

**P47.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 6101), preserving part of the smooth back, found on April 5, 1948, in a marble dump in the industrial area southwest of the Agora square.

H. 0.095 m.; W. 0.093 m.; Th. 0.044 m.; L.H. 0.006 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 30, 1961, pp. 242–243, no. 38, photograph pl. 42; *SEG XXI*, 565.

saec. IV a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[-----]το Χαρη[-----]  
 [-----]ἀ]μφισβητῶν ΕΙΤ[-----]  
 [-----]ιωι καὶ ἐτιμησ[-----]  
 [-----]ΠΗΗ ἐπρίατο [-----]  
 5 [-----]οσίωι ἄπασα Η[-----]  
 [-----]ἀ]πέγραψε ἐν τῷι [-----]  
 [-----]σίωι ΠΗΗΗΗΠ [-----]  
 [-----]εμο Εϋ[-----]

*lacuna*

**P48.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 6104), broken on all sides, found on April 20, 1948, by a late wall at the southwest corner of the Middle Stoa (H 13).

H. 0.15 m.; W. 0.25 m.; Th. 0.071 m.; L.H. 0.009 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 243, no. 39, photograph pl. 42; *SEG XXI*, 566.

saec. IV a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[-----]τράτο το[-----]  
 [-----]π]αρά τοῖς θεσμοθέταις [-----]  
 [-----]γείτων βορρᾶθεν Δ[-----]  
 [-----]εν ἡ τάφρος ἡ παρὰ Τ[-----]  
 5 [-----] ἀπὸ τῆς πυλίδος κλη[-----]  
 [-----]Δ]ωρόθεος Ἀρκεφῶντος Α[-----]  
 [-----]κατεβλήθη] τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῆς τιμ[ῆς [-----]  
 [-----]ς ἐνεπεσκήψατο ἐνοφείλεσθα[ι [-----]  
 [-----]υλῶν ἐν τῷι δευτέρῳ καὶ τρίτῳ [-----]

10 [-----]τ[.]ππο ΠΗΗΗΔΔΠ Θεμ[-----]  
 [-----]νοτος τὸ ἀργύριο[ν-----]  
 [-----]ν ἀναλ[-----]  
 [-----]Ο[-----]

*lacuna*

**P49.** A complete stele of Pentelic marble (I 6694), found on August 31, 1954, re-used as a cover slab over a tiled well in front of the Stoa of Attalos (P 10).

H. 1.60 m.; W. 0.93 m.; Th. 0.16 m.; L.H. 0.006 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, pp. 30–31, no. 28, photograph pl. 7; *SEG* XXI, 567.

*saec.* IV a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Col. I

Col. II

Col. III

Col. IV

*erased*

*erased*

*erased*

*erased*

Κλέανδρος Φαληρεὺς ΙΙ ΙΧΧ καταβολή Π  
 καταβολή ΗΗ

*vacat*

For its re-use the stele was dressed down with a toothed chisel, and almost all the inscribed face was erased. Scattered letters and numbers appear elsewhere, but only at the very bottom of the inscribed face can any names and words be read.

**P50.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 4874), preserving part of the smooth-picked top, found on May 19, 1937, in a late Roman disturbance in a Classical floor to the southeast of the propylon of the Bouleuterion (H 11).

H. 0.089 m.; W. 0.075 m.; Th. 0.081 m.; L.H. line 1, 0.013 m., lines 2–5, 0.004–0.005 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 284–285, no. 37, photograph pl. 97.

*ca.* a. 300/299 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]μέτ]αλλα [-----]  
 [-----]Ἀπολλ]ωνιακὸν ἐν Θρ[-----]  
 [-----]εἶς]ήνευκε μέταλ[λον-----]  
 [-----]ν Ἀπολλωνι[ακὸν-----]  
 5 [-----]ῶι γεί προ]ς ἡλίου-----

*lacuna*

Line 1 [τάδ' ἐπράθη μέτ]αλλα [*vacat*] Crosby. Line 2 ἐν Θρ[ασύμωι (?)] Crosby.

**P51** (Pl. 12). Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 7302), preserving part of the rough-picked back and bottom, found on May 14, 1971, in the basement of a modern house east of the Agora square (T 13). A rough-picked band 0.08 m. wide runs along the bottom of the inscribed face.

H. 0.226 m.; W. 0.30 m.; Th. 0.118 m.; L.H. 0.005–0.007 m.

Unpublished.

*ca.* a. 300/299 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[-----]ΛΙΚΟ[-----]  
 [-----]  
 [-----]ρ: ἐδάφεσι ἡι [-----]  
 [-----]ιτα: βορ: Ἀντιδοτ[-----]  
 5 [-----]ακὸν καινοτομίαν ἐν τ[οῖς ἐδάφεσι τοῖς-----]  
 [-----]πρὸς] ἡλίου ἀνιόντος μέταλλ[ον-----]

[---'Αρτεμι]σιακὸν στήλην ἔχον ἐν Θορι[κῶι-----]  
 [-----ν]οτό: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ Λαυρείου φέρουσ[α -----]  
 [-----Λ]αυρείου φέρουσα καὶ ὁ λόφος ἀπεγρά[ψατο-----]  
*vacat*

The rough-picked band noted above is original. A date near the end of the 4th century is suggested by the letter forms.

**P52.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 1918), preserving part of the left side and smooth back, found on May 4, 1934, in a mixed Turkish and Byzantine context about fifty meters southwest of the Tholos (F 13).

H. 0.33 m.; W. 0.136 m.; Th. 0.08 m.; L.H. 0.006 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 4, 1935, pp. 565–571, no. 41, photograph p. 567; *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 107–108; W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, New York 1939, pp. 52–53; W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, Cambridge, Mass. 1940, pp. 88–91.

a. 281/0 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 36–37

*lacuna*

[-----]ON[-----]  
*vacat*  
*vacat*  
*vacat*

[τά]δε καταβεβ[λημένα -----]  
 [ἐπ]ὶ Οὐρίου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Δημητριάδος ἐν]-  
 [δε]κάτης πρυτανείας -----  
 5 [οἰ]κίας Ἀγρυλλῆσ[ιν Χαιρουτίδης Ερ-----]  
 [Σο]υνι: τῆς πραθε[ίσης ----- ἐπὶ Φι]-  
 [λί]ππου ἄρχοντος -----  
 [. .]νετο Διοκλή[ς -----]  
 [τα]ύτης τῆς οἰκί[ας -----]  
 10 [Χα]ιρουτίδης Ερ[-----]  
 [ὑπ]ὸ τῶν δικαστῶ[ν -----]  
 [. .] ἐπὶ Τηλοκλέ[ους ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς -----]  
 [δε]κάτης πρυτανείας -----  
 [ΗΗ]ΗΗ<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔΗ<sup>ν</sup> [-----]  
 15 [ἐπ]ὶ Τηλοκλέους [ἄρχοντος -----]  
 [. .]ς ὀγδόης πρυτ[ανείας -----]  
 [. .]κλου Ε[ὕ]πυ: οἰκίαν -----  
 [-----]  
 Δ[-----]  
*lacuna*

The exact sense of the transaction recorded in this document cannot be ascertained. It is best seen as a poletai record of the year of Ourios concerned with matters carried over from two previous archons, Philippos and Telokles.

**P53.** Six non-joining fragments of Hymettian marble from the same opisthographic stele. Fragment *a* (I 1971), preserving an original left side, was found on May 11, 1934, in a late disturbance south of the west part of the Middle Stoa (J 14). Fragment *b* (I 1777), broken on all sides, was found on April 13, 1934, in a late context in the Bouleuterion Plateia (F 11). Fragment *c* (I 1778), preserving part of the right side, was found on April 14, 1934, in a late context southwest of the Bouleuterion Plateia (F 11). Fragment *d* (I 1533), broken on all sides, was found on March 9, 1934, in a modern wall south of the west end of the Middle Stoa (I 14). Fragments *e* (I 2014 b) and *f* (I 2014 a) were both found in the Roman screen wall of the Bouleuterion Plateia (F 10). *e* is broken on all sides; *f*, mended from many pieces,

preserves a lower corner, the right on Face A, the left on Face B, and part of a tenon for the setting. *e* and the various pieces of *f* were found during September, October, and November of 1934.

*a*: H. 0.12 m.; W. 0.085 m.; Th. 0.034 m.

*b*: H. 0.052 m.; W. 0.047 m.; Th. 0.02 m.

*c*: H. 0.17 m.; W. 0.06 m.; Th. 0.021 m.

*d*: H. 0.07 m.; W. 0.11 m.; Th. 0.05 m.

*e*: H. 0.097 m.; W. 0.142 m.; Th. 0.05 m.

*f*: H. 0.315 m.; W. 0.28 m.; Th. 0.115 m.

Letter height on all fragments 0.005 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 16, 1947, pp. 155–157, no. 51, photographs pl. 27.

ca. a. 250/49 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 50

		<i>lacuna</i>	
<i>a</i>	[-----]ΑΣ[-----]		
	<i>ντων προσο</i> [-----]		
	<i>πραθέντων</i> ε[-----]		
	<i>α κατεκύρω</i> [σαν οί ἐννέ' ἄρχοντες----- Πο]-		
5	<i>τάμιος ὠνη</i> [τῆς----- τούτ]-		
	<i>ον ἐπώνια</i> [καὶ κηρύκεια -----]		
	<i>αξιν κεχει</i> [ροτον----- Κυδαθη]-		
	<i>ναιέως το</i> [----- ὦι γ]-		
	<i>είτων βορ</i> [ρᾶθεν-----]		
10	[. . .]ΩΣΟ[-----]		
	<i>lacuna</i>		
	<i>lacuna</i>		
<i>b</i>	[-----]ΛΟΟ[-----]		
	[-----]ΗΤΡ[-----]		
	[-----]ΡΗ[-----]		
	<i>lacuna</i>		
	<i>lacuna</i>		
<i>c</i>	[-----]κι: ὠνη-		
15	[τῆς -----]τ IIII <sup>v</sup>		
	[-----]ορου τ		
	[-----] πρὸς ἡλίου ἀν]μόν: ὀδ-		
	[ὀς -----] Ἀρ]ισταγό-		
	[ρου -----] Πυ]θαράτο-		
20	[ν -----]οντος <sup>v</sup>		
	[-----]ι: ἀπέγρ-		
	[αψεν -----] ν αὐτὴν		
	[-----]ινωσαντ		
	[-----]ονος δα		
25	[-----] τέως E		
	[-----] πρὸς ἡ-		
	[λίον -----] ρου		
	[-----] ου		
	<i>lacuna</i>		

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Line 4 κατεκύρωσ[αν οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες· Κτησικλῆς Ὀλυμπιοδώρου Πο] Meritt. Lines 43–44 ἔφην|[αν οἱ πωληταὶ ἐν τῷ βουλε]υτηρίῳ Meritt. Lines 44–45 ἐπὶ δ[έ]|[κα εἰσηγούμενων] Meritt. Line 49 [ὁδὸς ἡ εἰς τὸ ἐργαστήριον εἰσάγουσα] Meritt.

**P54.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 4833), broken on all sides, found on May 10, 1937, in the foundation of a Late Roman house southeast of the Tholos (G–H 12).

H. 0.097 m.; W. 0.165 m.; Th. 0.04 m.; L.H. 0.006 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 28–29, no. 35, photograph pl. 5; *SEG* XIX, 135.

saec. III a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[-----]I[-----]  
 [-----]ς οἰκίας καὶ κα[-----]  
 [-----]ἔτε]ρον οἰκίδιον ὧι [γείτων -----]  
 [-----] οἰκία: πρὸς ἡλ[ίου -----]  
 5 [-----]τια ἀγάλμ[ατα -----]  
 [-----]πώλιον κα[-----]  
 [-----] Λυκίνου Κο[-----]

*lacuna*

Line 5 [ἐνα]ῖτια ἀγάλμ[ατα] Meritt.

**P55.** Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 4834), preserving part of the right side, found on May 10, 1937, in the same context as **P54**.

H. 0.16 m.; W. 0.15 m.; Th. 0.042 m.; L.H. 0.006 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, p. 28, no. 34, photograph pl. 8; *SEG* XIX, 134.

saec. III a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[-----] *vacat*  
 [-----]ένης *vacat*  
 [-----]νο]τόθεν *vacat*

*vacat*

[-----]ἐπὶ τῆς -----]της πρυτα[νείας -----]  
 5 [-----]τ]ὸν γραμμα[τέα -----]  
 [-----] Σμίκυθος [-----]  
 [-----]ωι ἐν τῶι [-----]  
 [-----]ν δνομέν[ου -----]  
 [-----]ἀν]ιόν[τος -----]

*lacuna*

**P56.** Two non-joining fragments of Hymettian marble from the same stele. Fragment *a* (I 933), broken on all sides, was found on June 5, 1933, in a late context east of the Tholos (H 11). Fragment *b* (I 4835), broken on all sides, was found on May 10, 1937, in the foundation of a Late Roman house southeast of the Tholos (H 12).

*a*: H. 0.085 m.; W. 0.092 m.; Th. 0.033 m.; L.H. 0.005 m.*b*: H. 0.038 m.; W. 0.114 m.; Th. 0.077 m.; L.H. 0.005 m.

Ed. *a*: B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 126–127, no. 26, photograph p. 127. *b*: M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 281–282, no. 33, photograph pl. 97.

ca. a. 200/199 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

*a* [-----]I[-----]  
 [-----]ιος Φίλωνος πο[-----]  
 [-----]Κεφ]αλήθεν χωρίον [-----]

*vacat*

[-----]ἐπὶ -----]τους ἄρχοντ[ος -----]  
 5 [-----] πρυτανε[ίας -----]  
 [-----]δευτέ]ραι ἰσταμ[ένον -----]

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*b*            [-----]νος χωρί[ον -----]  
               [-----]τομία ἦν Α[ -----]  
               [-----]ἀ]πεγράψατ[ο -----]  
 10           [-----]ΟΥΣΑΝΕ[-----]  
               *lacuna*

Crosby took fragment *b* to be part of a mining-lease and restored [καινο]τομία in line 8. [λιθο]τομία is just as possible, perhaps named in a context similar to that of **P26**, line 483.

## APPENDIX

Several small, inscribed fragments classed as poletai records in the Agora inventory are published here for the first time or are republished. The fragments preserve too little to allow judgment on their classification. Not included here are texts of six fragments classed as possible poletai records in *IG I<sup>3</sup>*: 417–420, 431, 432 (includes Agora I 230, I 236h, and I 4068), nor five additional Agora fragments tentatively assigned to the poletai by M. B. Walbank in the Appendix to Part III: **LA3–LA7**, respectively Agora I 1818, I 4602, I 6245, I 6594, and I 4591.

**PA1.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 3060), preserving part of the original top and right side, found on June 28, 1935, in a well of the late 4th century B.C. to the west of the Tholos (G 11:4).

H. 0.053 m.; W. 0.082 m.; Th. 0.032 m.; L.H. 0.004–0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.007 m. and a vertical checker of 0.01 m.

Ed. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 19–20, no. S8, photograph pl. 3; *SEG XVI*, 129.

*saec. IV a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[-----]ς Στρνυμ[. . . .]  
 [-----]ι: Εὐπολις Εὐ[.]  
 [-----]ι: Εὐκράτης Μα  
 [-----]ἐγραμμά]τενε Τιμο

*lacuna*

Line 1 [πωληταῖ-----]ς Crosby. Lines 2–3 Εὐ[θ]||[ήμονος Ἄλαι:(?)---] Crosby.

**PA2.** Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 1691), with part of the smooth-picked right side preserved, found on March 27, 1934, in a late context on the southern slope of Kolonos Agoraios (F 10).

H. 0.051 m.; W. 0.063 m.; Th. 0.023 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.006–0.007 m. and a vertical checker of 0.006 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 16, 1947, p. 150, no. 40, photograph pl. 23.

*saec. IV a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[-----]Ι  
 [-----]ς Εὐνομ  
 [-----]μίωνος Π  
 [-----]ἀπέ]γραψεν ὁ  
 5 [-----]ν Πεττω  
 [-----]ι: γνοσα  
 [-----]Σ

*lacuna*

**PA3.** Fragment of Pentelic marble, preserving the original right side, found in the Kerameikos.

H. 0.04 m.; W. 0.075 m.; Th. 0.075 m.; L.H. 0.003–0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.007 m. and a vertical checker of 0.007–0.008 m.

Ed. W. Peek, *Kerameikos, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, III, *Inschriften, Ostraka, Fluchtafeln*, Berlin 1941, p. 13, no. 9, photograph pl. 6:2. Cf. M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 284, no. 36.

*fin. saec. IV a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[-----] λης Ἀμφι  
 [-----] αρδαμητ  
 [-----] ΗΔΔ: Επ  
 [-----] χίων Σο

*lacuna*

**PA4** (Pl. 12). Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 4843), broken on all sides, found on April 28, 1937, in a late disturbance just south of the propylon of the New Bouleuterion (H 11).

H. 0.04 m.; W. 0.04 m.; Th. 0.01 m.; L.H. 0.006 m.

Unpublished.

*saec. IV a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[----] ΔΔΔ [-----]  
 [---] ΚΚΗΨ [-----]  
 [---] ακος Α [-----]  
 [----] ΙΟΤΕ [-----]

*lacuna*

**PA5** (Pl. 12). Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 4962), found on June 12, 1937 in the Post-Herulian Wall over the paved court of the Klepsydra (T 26–27).

H. 0.115 m.; W. 0.085 m.; Th. 0.086 m.; L.H. 0.005 m.

Unpublished.

*saec. IV a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[-----] ]Ο[.]  
 [-----] ] ἐκ τῆς Ι  
 [-----] γ]εωργεῖ Γλαυ  
 [-----] ]Ο ΙΙΙ[. . . . .] <sup>ca. 9</sup>  
 5 [-----] ] Π Γ  
 [-----] ]πισ γείτω[v. . .]  
 [-----] ]Ε <γ>είτων Τ[. . .]  
 [-----] ]μον[. . .]

*lacuna*

Line 7, *lapis* <sup>v</sup>ΕΙΤΩΝ.

**PA6** (Pl. 13). Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 5920), preserving the smooth-picked right side, found on July 13, 1946, in a marble dump south of the Odeion.

H. 0.145 m.; W. 0.10 m.; Th. 0.03 m.; L.H. 0.007 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.007 m. and a vertical checker of 0.01 m.

Unpublished.



saec. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

		<i>lacuna</i>	
		[-----]ιον [ . . ]	
		[-----]χορῶι [ . . ]	
		[-----]ήρια Ρο[ . . ]	
		[-----]λευται ὦι	
		<i>vacat</i>	
5		[-----]άλιος [ . . ]	
		[-----]α μισθός [ . ]	
		[-----]αις [ . . . . ]	
		[-----]α μισθός [ . ]	
		[-----]ΕΑΔ[ . . . ]	
10		[-----]τος [ . . . ]	
		[-----]ΑΒΕΚ[ . . ]	
		[-----]Ο[ . . . . ]	
		<i>lacuna</i>	

**PA7** (Pl. 13). Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 4884), broken on all sides, found on May 22, 1937, in a Late Roman disturbance above the Tholos (G 12).

H. 0.104 m.; W. 0.114 m.; Th. 0.032 m.; L.H. 0.004–0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.009–0.011 m. and a vertical checker of 0.009 m.

Unpublished.

saec. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

		<i>lacuna</i>	
		[-----]Κ[-----]	
		[-----]ΕΠΕ[-----]	
		[-----] τοῖς [-----]	
		[-----]ΙΛΟΣ[-----]	
5		[-----]ΕΛΛ[-----]	
		[-----]ΠΑ[-----]	
		<i>lacuna</i>	

**PA8**. Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 626), broken on all sides, found on March 30, 1933, in a marble pile northwest of the Tholos.

H. 0.165 m.; W. 0.165 m.; Th. 0.045 m.; L.H. 0.005 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pp. 187–188, no. 33, photograph p. 187.

init. saec. II a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

		<i>lacuna</i>	
		[-----]Δ[-----]	
		[-----] Ἀλαιοῦς [-----]	
		[-----] Ἀπο]λλόδωρος Ἴφ[-----]	
		[-----] Ἀνα]καιεύς, Κρατ[-----]	
5		[-----] γρα]μ[μα]τεὺς Κ[-----]	
		[-----] γραμ]ματ[εὺς Πυθοκλ]ῆς[-----]	
		[-----] ψαν Θαρρηλιῶν[ος[-----]	
		[-----] τ]ὸ μὲν εἰς [-----]	
		[-----] τον ἀποτ[-----]	
10		[-----] ΟΤ[-----]	
		<i>lacuna</i>	

### **III. LEASES OF PUBLIC LANDS**

**BY**

**MICHAEL B. WALBANK**

## PREFACE

The history of the leasing of publicly owned land in Attica and in the territories at one time or another controlled by Athens rests, to a very large extent, upon epigraphical evidence. Of this evidence the excavations in the Athenian Agora have yielded a small but significant part. It is appropriate, therefore, to attempt in this study to provide a survey of Athenian practices relating to public leasing, even though much of the evidence for these comes from other sites than the Agora.

It is not my intention, however, to provide here a corpus of all Athenian documents relating to the leasing of publicly owned real property. The preparation of such a work requires autopsy of all available documents, not merely those from the Athenian Agora: these materials are scattered and in some cases difficult of access, and I have not, so far, been able to examine them all at first hand. I intend to publish such a corpus elsewhere in the future.

The historical survey presented here, therefore, is based upon autopsy of those of the documents that derive from the Athenian Agora or those proving to join with, or to be closely associated with, Agora documents. The rest have been studied from squeezes or, in a few cases, from published texts and photographs. Only the Agora documents are edited in the second part of this study, along with those documents from other sites that join or are closely associated with the Agora fragments.

I wish to thank Homer A. Thompson and Benjamin D. Meritt, who assigned these inscriptions to me for detailed study. I am also grateful to T. Leslie Shear, Jr., Field Director of the Agora Excavations, who assigned to me in 1983 the original publication of several of these documents and who has permitted me to work in the Agora Museum on many occasions since then, and to John McK. Camp II, Resident Director of the Agora Excavations. I wish, too, to thank Dr. K. Peppas-Delmouzou, Director of the Epigraphical Museum, and her Assistant, Chara Karappa-Molisani, for permission to study documents under their control.

I owe a special debt to Michael H. Jameson, David M. Lewis, and A. Geoffrey Woodhead: the extent of their contribution will be obvious. I am also grateful to Christian Habicht, who made it possible for me to study at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and to make use of the Institute's extensive collection of squeezes. I thank my co-authors Gerald V. Lalonde and Merle K. Langdon for their help and co-operation.

The University of Calgary and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada have assisted me substantially over the past decade by means of study leave and research grants, for which I am most grateful.

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# LEASES OF PUBLIC LANDS

## THE LEASING OF PUBLIC LANDS IN ATTICA AND IN TERRITORIES CONTROLLED BY ATHENS

The history of the system employed at Athens for leasing out public lands is not clear: neither the epigraphic record nor the literary sources provides more than a series of disconnected incidents by which we may attempt a reconstruction of this institution and its history.<sup>1</sup>

From Photios (*s.v.* ναύκραροι) we learn that in the 7th century the naukraroi had the responsibility for the leasing of public lands. We do not know whether they alone were responsible for this, or whether they carried out this task in association with the Archon Basileus, as did the poletai later on.

When the naukraroi lost most of their powers under the constitution of Solon and became restricted to the management of the Naukraric Fund,<sup>2</sup> it may be assumed that the duty of leasing out public lands passed to those officials whom we find involved in this task when the epigraphic record begins: the Archon Basileus and the poletai. These officials, too, are those who have this duty in the later 4th century,<sup>3</sup> but we do not have any certain evidence for their activities in this sphere before 418/17 B.C., when the earliest epigraphic reference to them in this connection is dated (*IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84, line 12),<sup>4</sup> although references to the leasing of public land occur well before this date in the epigraphic record.

Photios' remark about the duties of the naukraroi indicates that there was public land available for leasing at the end of the 7th century: what this land was we cannot say for sure, whether it was owned by the state or merely the property of various religious cults. Aristotle, in the *Politics* (2.5.2.1267b), distinguishes between three types of land ownership, which, he says, Hippodamos of Miletos first laid down as the proper distribution of land within a Greek state: Διήρει δ' εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν χώραν, τὴν μὲν ἱερὰν, τὴν δὲ δημοσίαν, τὴν δ' ἰδίαν. In the *Athenaion Politeia*, however, only one category of public lands apart from state-owned mines, which are a separate issue, is mentioned, under the generic term *τεμένη*:<sup>5</sup> the responsibility for leasing out these temene belongs with the Archon Basileus, as the earlier epigraphic record also suggests. The temene mentioned in the *Athenaion Politeia* are certainly publicly owned: do they comprise both the categories

<sup>1</sup> Previous studies on this and related topics include the following: V. N. Andreyev, "Some Aspects of Agrarian Conditions in Attica in the Fifth to Third Centuries B.C.," *Eirene* 12, 1974, pp. 5–46; *Attische Pachturkunden*; M. Crosby, "The Leases of the Laureion Mines," *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 189–312; *eadem*, "More Fragments of Mining Leases from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 1–23; Fine; Finley; D. Hegyi, "Τεμένη ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένη δημοσία," *Oikumene* 1, 1976, pp. 77–87; D. M. Lewis, "The Athenian *Rationes Centesimarum*," in *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce*, M. I. Finley, ed., Paris 1973, pp. 187–212; Osborne, "Social and Economic Implications"; O. Schulthess, *RE* XV, 1932, cols. 2078:65–2095:13, *s.v.* μισθός; cols. 2095:14–2129:43, *s.v.* μίσθωσις; M. B. Walbank, "Leases of Sacred Properties in Attica, Part I," *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 100–135; "———, Part II," pp. 177–199; "———, Part III," pp. 200–206; "———, Part IV," pp. 207–231; "———, Part V," *Hesperia* 53, 1984, pp. 361–368; "———, Part V: A Correction," *Hesperia* 54, 1985, p. 140; Wilhelm, "Attische Pachturkunden," pp. 189–217. Osborne's article came to my notice after this section had gone to press. It covers much the same ground as does my study. I have drawn attention to Osborne's views at some points in my discussion but have not otherwise responded to them.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 8.1; Herodotos, 5.71; Hesychios, *s.v.* ναύκλαροι; Photios, *s.v.* ναύκραροι; Pollux, 8.108; Thucydides, 1.126. See also J. Velissaropoulos, *Les naucrères grecs*, Geneva/Paris 1980, pp. 14–21 (with bibliography). See also Langdon, p. 68 above and footnote 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 47.2; *SEG* XVIII, 13 (= L7), line 9, restored.

<sup>4</sup> For *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84, see footnote 26 below, p. 154. Langdon (pp. 64–65 above and footnote 43) interprets this passage somewhat differently.

<sup>5</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 47.4; see also Hegyi (footnote 1 above), with further citations in p. 77, note 1, and *Attische Pachturkunden*, pp. 105–106.

mentioned in the *Politics*, the *ἱερὰ χώρα* and the *δημοσία χώρα*? Did, indeed, this distinction apply in Athens, or was all non-private land regarded as *δημοσία*, whether or not it was attached to a specific cult?

Again, the epigraphic record is contradictory: where the ownership of land is known it falls into several different categories and under the authority of several different officers. For instance, the Archon Basileus and the poletai are responsible for the leasing out of the temenos of Neleus and Basile in 418/17 B.C. (*IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84, lines 6 and 12); somewhat earlier, in 434 B.C., the Delian amphiktyones identify themselves as the leasing authority for the property of Apollo Delios on Delos and Rheneia (*IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 402), and, in the decade before this, the leasing of a stable and houses owned by the Eleusinian Gods seems to have been the responsibility of the hieropoioi of Eleusis (*IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 395, lines 2 and 5), unless these officers are acting merely as subordinates reporting to a board of epistatai, as seems to be the case here in 408/7 B.C. (*IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 386). Thus, in the 5th century at least, some cults employ their own officers as leasing agents, and others make use of the officers of the state.

In the 4th century, in fact, the epigraphic record points toward a similar division of powers. The officers of the cult of the Eleusinian Gods continue to deal with leases of its property (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1672? [329/8 B.C.] and 1675 [late 4th century]), but the leasing of the Sacred Orgas (see Langdon, p. 64 above), which became the subject of a dispute in 352/1 B.C., is made the responsibility of the Archon Basileus (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 204, line 25). The Delian amphiktyones continue as before in the 5th century to handle the leasing of the god's property on Delos and Rheneia (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1633–1653). By contrast, the series of leases of land belonging to several different cults in Attica that begins in 343/2 B.C. (**L6**, **L9–L12**, **L14**, **L15**) clearly involves the gathering of the property of many cults into the hands of a single leasing agent, surely an officer of the state. A document contemporary with this series (**L7**, lines 7–11) names the poletai as the officials responsible for leasing out the property known as the Nea (probably newly acquired territory in the Oropia, ceded to Athens in 338 B.C.),<sup>6</sup> and, since the revenues from this lease are to be applied to the celebration of the Lesser Panatheneia, it is a reasonable assumption that this land is sacred in character and to be classed as a temenos of the kind that is mentioned in the *Athenaion Politeia* (47.4). Thus, again, we find cult authorities administering the property of their own cult in some cases, and the officers of the state, in other cases, acting as the leasing authority.

Perhaps, then, all that is meant by the passage from the *Athenaion Politeia* cited above is that, if cult authorities were unwilling, or were judged by the state to be incompetent, to act as leasing agents for property owned by the cult, the state would do it for them through the mechanism outlined in this passage. This mechanism may have been given formal status by some lost decree of the time of Lykourgos, but it represented, in effect, normal practice at least from 418/17 B.C., when in fact there seems to be a reference to a *νόμος* governing such matters (*IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84, lines 23–25), whenever the necessity arose for state involvement and is probably to be regarded as normal practice as far back as the time of Solon, when the former responsibility of the naukraroi in this sphere was abrogated.<sup>7</sup>

As to the distinction between *τεμένη ἱερὰ* and *τεμένη δημόσια*, it seems clear from the *Athenaion Politeia* that no such distinction was observed by the Athenians, at least by the late 4th century: land, if it was not in private hands, was owned by some kind of public body, the state, the cults of the state, lesser political organizations, such as phylai, trittyes, or demes, or religious corporations, such as phratriai, gene, orgeones, or thiasotai, and the leasing of such property was normally in the hands of the officers of these groups. Indeed, there is no evidence that any of these groups, apart from cults of the state, ever permitted their responsibilities in this sphere to pass into other hands than those of their officers or of members appointed for this purpose. So far as the evidence goes, land of a non-sacred character was held by the state only in special circumstances, and then, often, not for very long before it was disposed of.

Land that was seized from private individuals as a result of offences against the state or of failure to meet obligations to the state was placed in the hands of the poletai, to be sold at public auction.<sup>8</sup> Such land thus remained in public hands only so long as the process of offering it for sale demanded, and there is no evidence that it was leased out as a temporary measure in the interval.

<sup>6</sup> See Robert (footnote 41 above, p. 64), pp. 189–203.

<sup>7</sup> See footnote 2 above, p. 149.

<sup>8</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 47.2. I do not believe that there is any evidence to support the contention of Andreyev ([footnote 1 above, p. 149] p. 44) that the state sometimes kept confiscated land temporarily or permanently.

Land seized from other states, such as that needed for the establishment of cleruchies, similarly passed out of public hands quite quickly, although title to it seems to have remained with the state; the implication of the earliest epigraphic document from Athens that we possess on the subject of cleruchies is that the cleruch was required to remain on this land, to work it, and not to lease it to anyone else, save to one of his kin.<sup>9</sup>

Other foreign lands acquired by Athens, whether by seizure<sup>10</sup> or by cession,<sup>11</sup> if they were regarded as sacred in character, were leased out, probably always, through the agency of the Archon Basileus and the poletai. They were, in fact, temene of the sort described in the *Athenaion Politeia*.

### THE EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

From the period under consideration (late 6th through early 1st century B.C.) we possess more than seventy examples on stone of documents dealing with the leasing of public or semipublic real property, both in Attica and in territories under Athenian control. Of these, the excavations of the Athenian Agora have yielded sixteen examples. The paucity of these records is probably an accident of preservation, but the concentration of such documents in the second and third quarters of the 4th century indicates that at this time the authorities had the greatest incentive to commit such records to stone. At other times, there seems to have been less inclination on the part of the leasing authorities to employ this medium, but there is no reason to believe that the frequency of leasing was any less during periods when the epigraphic record is sparse than in periods when it is abundant.

The records are of several kinds and categories. Since many list more than one, in some cases very large numbers of leases, the total number of such leases that is now known exceeds three hundred; in only a few instances, however, is the history of an individual property known over an extended period, and in no case is the entire history of a leasehold property known.

### ORIGINS OF PUBLICLY OWNED LANDS

For the most part, we know nothing whatsoever about the means by which these properties came into public hands, if, indeed, they were not so from the start. Nor do we know their ultimate fate, whether they continued to be leased out or were sold off or passed, surreptitiously or by gradual encroachment, into private hands as the leasing authority became careless or itself passed out of existence. Nor, in many cases, do we know the reasons for the leasing of such properties.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *IG I<sup>3</sup>*, 1. Opinions vary as to whether this decree deals with a cleruchy on Salamis or with Athenian settlers, or even with native Salaminians (see the discussion in Meiggs and Lewis, no. 14, pp. 25–27), but, as Meiggs and Lewis remark (p. 26), “the clauses that follow [line 1] make better sense if they refer to Athenians rather than natives.” If the subject of this decree is a cleruchy, it is likely to date very soon after the reforms of Kleisthenes (Meiggs and Lewis, p. 27) and before the cleruchy sent to Chalkis in 506 B.C. (Herodotus, 5.77.2). The cleruchs on Salamis seem to have been prohibited from leasing out their *kleroi*, except to kinsmen (? , line 4); a similar restriction seems to have been imposed upon the 4th-century cleruchs on Lemnos (*L3*, lines 30–31). *L3*, line 34 refers specifically to τοῖς ἐς Σαλαμῖνα ---, but, although the Salaminian cleruchy is probably implied here, it is not certain that the reference is to the terms of *IG I<sup>3</sup>*, 1. Whether such restrictions were always imposed is not clear: for instance, A. H. M. Jones (*Athenian Democracy*, Oxford 1969, p. 176) remarks: “There is in fact no clear evidence of an Athenian cleruch residing upon his lot overseas during the Pentacontaetia and the Peloponnesian War. I would suggest that they were not obliged or expected to do so, and that the allotments were regarded as endowments which qualified them for hoplite service: they might prefer to cultivate them themselves, but they seem normally to have been absentee landlords.” This seems to imply two kinds of cleruchy in the 5th century, one that was designed to supply men who acted “as a unit of the Home Guard, as it were” (B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists III*, Princeton 1950, p. 293) and another that served merely to provide “endowments” that raised men from the thetic to the Zeugite class and thus made available another source of hoplites for the army (Jones, p. 176). In the case of the Lemnian cleruchy of 387/6 (*L3*), there is some indication that not all the designated cleruchs went to the island: at any rate, provision seems to have been made for dealing with those who did not go (lines 46–53). On cleruchies in general, see H. Schulthess, *RE XI*, 1922, cols. 814:63–832:51, s.v. κληροῦχοι; Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, pp. 282–297; A. J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City*, 2nd ed., Chicago 1983, pp. 166–192; Jones, pp. 161–180.

<sup>10</sup> *L2*; properties on Euboea.

<sup>11</sup> *L7*; properties probably in the Oropia.

<sup>12</sup> On the origins of public landholding, see Andreyev (footnote 1 above, p. 149), pp. 44–46, especially p. 45. Cult properties, particularly those of Herakles, Dionysos, and Demeter and Kore, seem to have very early origins; those of Apollo, Zeus, Athena, Poseidon, and Pan are much later. Demes probably acquired their land “when the demes themselves were first formed as self-

Lands acquired by the Athenian state, whether by conquest, by confiscation, or by cession, are a special case: these are all foreign lands taken over by Athens in order to provide land for cleruchies or revenues for the state and its cults; land in Attica confiscated by the state was sold at auction by the *poletai* and thus need not concern us here. Such overseas territories might be leased out to Athenian citizens or metics, or even to natives, perhaps the original property owners, who must have regarded the rent that they were now called upon to pay as, in effect, a tax imposed by Athens. When Athens lost control of these territories, the native tenants presumably remained in possession and may have been permitted by their own state to resume legal ownership; the Athenians and metics, whether simple tenants or cleruchs, were surely evicted, although the only substantial record of such eviction occurs at the end of the Peloponnesian War, when Athens lost her empire.<sup>13</sup>

### CATEGORIES OF OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC LANDS

There are five main categories of ownership of publicly held real property:

- 1) the Athenian state;
- 2) individual cults or sanctuaries whose officers acted as the leasing agents;
- 3) individual cults or sanctuaries for whom the Athenian state acted as leasing agent;
- 4) political bodies, such as *phylai*, *trittyes*, or *demes*, whose officers or appointees acted as the leasing agents;
- 5) semipublic religious corporations, such as *phratryai*, *gene*, *orgeones*, or *thiasotai*, whose officers or appointees acted as leasing agents.

### TYPES OF RECORD

In all these categories the records committed to stone by the leasing agents vary in form and complexity; the record may be in the form of a decree, sometimes a simple enabling decree, without elaborate conditions, sometimes a whole series of terms, conditions, and waivers; it may be merely a record of leases granted, whether individually or in bulk; or it may simply be an accounting entry under the rubric "total of rents received". It is clear that there was no set practice and that more complete records must have existed elsewhere, to be consulted if the epigraphic record was deemed insufficient. The tenants may be individuals: Athenian citizens, metics, natives of the territory concerned, or perhaps (though no record of such exists) foreigners to whom Athens permitted short- or long-term sojourn in territories under its control, such as refugees or political exiles; or the tenants may themselves be public bodies: political organizations or religious corporations.

### HISTORY OF THE LEASING OF PUBLIC LANDS IN ATTICA AND IN TERRITORIES CONTROLLED BY ATHENS

Documents relating to the leasing out of public property in Attica or in territories controlled by the Athenian state are rare at all times. The greatest concentration of such records occurs in the second and third quarters of the 4th century B.C., probably reflecting the reforms initiated by Euboulos and his colleague and successor Lykourgos in the 340's and 330's.<sup>14</sup> The absence of records on stone before this date seems to be a result of

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governing settlements," before Attica was united, but *phylai*, *trittyes*, and, indeed, the state itself did not acquire their land until very late. The documentary evidence leaves "an impression of something artificial and laboriously made at a time when the reserves of 'free' land in regions suitable for agriculture were long exhausted." Religious organizations, such as *phratryai* and *gene*, developed their landholdings "at a time when these associations still occupied a compact territory," but *orgeones* were not likely to have acquired land until a "time when Athens was becoming or already had become the political center of Attica."

<sup>13</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenika* 2.2.2, 5–6; Andokides, *de pace* 11–12.

<sup>14</sup> [Plutarch], *Vit. X orat.* 841B–D; for other references, see Walbank, "Part IV" (footnote 1 above, p. 149), p. 228, note 123 and C. J. Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander: The Dated Laws and Decrees of 'the Lykourgan Era' 338–322 B.C.*, Chicago 1983,

practice, rather than an accident of survival. Such lease records, if they existed, were evidently kept on more perishable material than inscribed stone stelai and have not survived.<sup>15</sup>

The earliest reference to the leasing of public property at Athens is not, in fact, either a lease or an enabling decree: rather, it is a decree of the Athenian state by which are set down the terms under which cleruchs(?) shall live on the island of Salamis, which Athens had recently annexed.<sup>16</sup> The crucial clauses are partly, by no means certainly, restored; their import, however, is that each cleruch is forbidden to lease out his holding to anyone else, except to a kinsman(?), on pain of a fine to be paid by both parties to such an illegal lease (lines 3–7). Athens, by imposing this restriction, seems in some sense to retain legal title to the property, and the cleruch, by undertaking the obligations set upon him and by observing the restrictions of the decree, is, in effect, a tenant. Another, far more detailed text relating to cleruchies<sup>17</sup> amplifies the provisions set out in the Salamis decree and specifically refers to the conditions under which the cleruchs in Salamis hold their land (line 34). I assume from this passage that all Athenian cleruchies were set up along the same lines and with the same prohibitions against leasing, throughout the history of this institution: the cleruch held his land in trust, as it were, for the Athenian state.

A *Lex Sacra* and associated decree of the deme of Melite may provide our next example of a lease of public property (Appendix, **LA1**).<sup>18</sup> The *Lex Sacra* is dated soon after 480 B.C.; the decree, which is inscribed upon the same stele, is placed sometime before 450 B.C. The stele is too fragmentary to permit coherent restoration, but one fragment, *l*, whose precise location on the stele is unknown,<sup>19</sup> contains the terms [μ]σθδσθ[αι] and μισθ[-----] in a context that may involve either leasing, contracts for public works, or payment of wages.<sup>20</sup>

The next dated lease record also involves a cleruchy, that established in the Chersonese a little after 450 B.C. (*IG I<sup>3</sup>*, 417). This document appears to be a list of lands allocated to cleruchs or to other individuals. There is no reference to leasing, but the document seems similar to **L2**, a later record of state-owned land outside Attica that was leased out to individuals.

*passim*, esp. pp. 455–463. Professor H. A. Thompson (*per ep.*): “I am struck by the fact that the period in which you find such an efflorescence of lease inscriptions should also have witnessed much activity in front of the Stoa Basileios: the ground level was raised, the little south porch was added to provide a more imposing entrance to the office of the Basileus in the south part of the Stoa, a set of beautiful new marble thrones replaced the old poros thrones in front of the building, and a great statue of Themis was erected on the axis of the Stoa. All this may reflect the revival in the prestige of the Areopagus that seems to be well attested for this period, but the construction of the south porch, much finer than the older north porch that seems to have stood in front of the entrance to the meeting place of the Areopagus in the north part of the Stoa, suggests that some attention was being paid to the Basileus as well as to the Areopagus.”

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the statement of *Ath. Pol.* 47.4 that records of leases were kept on whitened boards (λελευκωμένα γραμματεῖα) by the public slave. See also Kent, pp. 243–244, on the various kinds of record that were kept by the authorities on Delos. On Athenian archives in general, see E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, pp. 91–117. See also Langdon, p. 61 above and footnote 27.

<sup>16</sup> *IG I<sup>3</sup>*, 1 (late 6th or early 5th century B.C.: see footnote 9 above, p. 151); see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 1, pp. 50–51.

<sup>17</sup> **L3** (387/6 B.C.); see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 2, pp. 51–52.

<sup>18</sup> **LA1**: The text was inscribed upon the four faces of a marble pillar that seems to have been set up in or near the Eleusinion. The *Lex Sacra* orders the re-publication of documents (θεσμοί) destroyed in the Persian invasion; the deme decree is concerned with further aspects of religious observance.

<sup>19</sup> Fragment *l* cannot be part of the deme decree on Face D: script and other considerations suggest that it belongs either near the top of Face A or on Face C. If it comes from Face A, it will be part of the decree of the Boule that authorized the re-publication of the ancient *thesmoi*; this decree probably also provided for repairs and rebuilding in the area of the Eleusinion. If it derives from Face C, it will be part of these *thesmoi*.

<sup>20</sup> Lines 97 and 100. On μισθός, μίσθωσις, and similar words, see Schulthess (footnote 1 above, p. 149) and *Attische Pachturkunden*, pp. 7–48 and 107. Μισθός has several specialized meanings, but its basic sense is “recompense for work, service or materials; hence, wages, pay, salary, fee”. This recompense may be in kind, in service, or in cash, in one payment or in several, regular or irregular; and the person performing the service may be free, indentured, slave, or serf (see LSJ, s.v. μισθός, etc. and P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots*, Paris 1968–1974, s.v. μισθός, etc.). There are dozens of examples in Attic documents of μισθός and its derivatives having this sense of “recompense for work done or services performed”, particularly in the context of public works (where the contractor is a μισθωτής), but there are relatively few cases of μισθός and μισθωτής meaning respectively “rent” or “tenant”. It is clear, however, in all these cases that the owner of the property that is being leased out regards it as something that will earn him recompense of some sort, usually money paid in regular installments: this is, after all, a natural extension of the idea of “recompense for work, service or material”. The property, in effect, works for hire, just as a slave may be rented out for hire.



Different in form is an enabling decree, by which the terms and conditions for the leasing out of parcels of land are laid down. What survives from the Agora is actually the rider to such a decree (L1).<sup>21</sup> There is no indication of the location of this land: it may be overseas, a cleruchy or state-owned land, or in Attica. Nor is it clear whether this text is a decree of the Athenian state or the decision of some other political body.

Different again is the record of moneys contributed to the funds of the hieropoioi or the epistatai of the Sanctuary of the Eleusinian Gods (IG I<sup>3</sup>, 395, lines 2 and 5). Their income includes the rent of a stable (lines 2–3) and other buildings at Eleusis (line 5), the stable being rented to another cult, that of Heros Iatros. IG I<sup>3</sup>, 392, lines 10–11 and 394, line 10 may be parts of the same record. This is our first case in which a public or semipublic body is itself a tenant. The property of a god provides also our sixth example of the leasing of public lands: part of the records of the amphiktyones of the Sanctuary of Apollo Delios, dated to 434/3 and 433/2 B.C. (IG I<sup>3</sup>, 402). Properties on Delos itself and on the island of Rheneia were leased out to private individuals for a term of ten years in each case:<sup>22</sup> these properties included lands, gardens, and houses. This record is the first of several that survive relating to the property of the Sanctuary of Delian Apollo: the others, all but two, are dated in the 4th century.<sup>23</sup>

Next, dated between 430 and 410 B.C., is a list of temene on the island of Euboia, owned by the Athenian state and leased out to individuals (L2).<sup>24</sup> Some of these persons may be natives of Euboia, perhaps the original owners of these properties, dispossessed when Athens confiscated the land after the Euboian Revolt. The temene are apparently listed as the property of some god, rather than of the Athenian state. The term temenos here embraces arable land, olive groves, and other types of cultivated land. The form of this record is similar to that of IG I<sup>3</sup>, 417, although it is more complete.<sup>25</sup>

The first, and only, complete enabling decree to survive is dated to 418/17 B.C.<sup>26</sup> This is a decree of the Athenian state (lines 1–11), together with a rider to the decree (lines 11ff.), by which an enclosure for the hieron of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile is authorized, together with the lease of the temenos *κατὰ τὰς συνγραφάς* (lines 4–5). The moneys from the lease are to be employed for the building works (lines 8–9). The Archon Basileus is instructed to see to the leasing of the temenos (lines 6–7); in the rider he is joined by the poletai, and the temenos is identified as that of Neleus and Basile. The lease is to be for 20 years, and the rent is to be paid each year in the ninth prytany to the apodektai, who are to transfer the funds to the Treasurers of the Other Gods *κατὰ τὸν νόμον*. The Archon Basileus is instructed to have the names of the tenant and of his guarantors inscribed on the wall (of the temenos?), and the Secretary to the Boule is to have the decree itself inscribed and set up in the Neleion (summary of lines 11–28). There follow more detailed terms and conditions of the lease: the tenant is to construct the enclosure for the hieron of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile and is to

<sup>21</sup> See *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 5, p. 55.

<sup>22</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup>, 402, lines 15 and 20 for Delos and line 24 for Rheneia. The phrase *κατὰ τὰς συνγραφάς* (line 19) indicates that there were separate lease contracts; the difference in starting dates shows that there were “no general laws or set of regulations that applied to all estates alike” (Kent, p. 259).

<sup>23</sup> There are two other records from the 5th century: J. Coupry, “Études d’épigraphie délienne I,” *BCH* 61, 1937 (pp. 364–379), pp. 366–368, no. 1 (410/09) and pp. 369–373, no. 2 (408/7 B.C.). All other records are dated to the 4th century: IG II<sup>2</sup>, 1633A, lines 1–19; 1634, line 8; 1635A, lines 26–30, 64–67, 100–110 (also ? 1635B, lines 141–151); 1636A, lines 1–5; 1638A, lines 8–34; 1641A, lines 8–23; 1641 aA, lines 6–12; 1641 b, lines 1–7 (also ? 1645, lines 1–61). See Kent, pp. 258–262.

<sup>24</sup> See *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 7, p. 61. This text is generally taken to be a part of the document referred to by Aelian (*Varia historia* 6.1 [an abridged version of which is *Agora* III, no. 4]): Ἀθηναῖοι κρατήσαντες Χαλκιδέων κατεκληρούχησαν αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν ἐς δισχιλίους κλήρους, τὴν Ἰππόβοτον καλουμένην χώραν, τεμένην δὲ ἀνήκαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν τῷ Ληλάντῳ ὀνομαζομένῳ τόπῳ, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ἐμίσθωσαν κατὰ τὰς στήλας τὰς πρὸς τῇ βασιλείᾳ στοᾷ ἐστηκνίας, αἵπερ οὖν τὰ τῶν μισθώσεων ὑπομνήματα εἶχον.

<sup>25</sup> See above, p. 153.

<sup>26</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup>, 84; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 6, pp. 55–61. The lease is the responsibility of the Archon Basileus, who is instructed (lines 22–25) as follows: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐχθαλεφθάτο τὸν πριάμενον τ|ἐν ἰλύν, ἐπειδὰν ἀποδοῖ τέμ μίσθοσιν· τὸν δὲ μισθοσάμενον τὸ τέμ|ενος καὶ ὅποσο ἂν μισθόσεται ἀντενγραφάτο ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐς τὸν τ|οῖχον καὶ τὸς ἐγγυετὰς κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὅσπερ κείται τῶν τεμενῶν. I have taken the *toichos* of lines 24–25 to be probably that of the temenos itself, but Professor H. A. Thompson remarks (*per ep.*) that the verb (line 22) “implies writing with ink, and this could best be done on a plastered surface. Such a surface, I believe, existed in the Stoa [Basileios], viz. on the rear wall which, as J. Travlos and I believe, was of crude brick on a stone socle, and so must have been plastered. I think one should also consider the possibility that this was the wall on which the Laws of Solon were written at one stage in the long process of revision: Andokides, 1.82, 84, 85 [= *Agora* III, no. 6]. I say this *pace* A. Fingarette, *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 331ff. I can’t bring myself to believe that a series of stelai would have been referred to as a *toichos*.”

plant not less than two hundred olive trees in the temenos, more if he wishes, and is to have rights to the rain water in the ditch; the extent of the ditch over which he is to have rights is carefully defined (lines 29–38).

I have quoted this decree at some length because it is the first indication of several features of the leasing of public property that later become quite common and because it is also the first clear example of the state acting as leasing agent for a public cult. The *συνγραφαί* that are mentioned in the decree and in the rider (lines 5 and 31) are clearly detailed instructions and specifications for the construction of the enclosure of the hieron, not the terms under which the temenos is to be leased. The *νόμος* under which the apodektai receive and transfer the rent money to the Treasurers of the Other Gods (lines 15–18) is not so easily disposed of. At first sight, it appears to be a law governing the disposition of sacred funds; but what, then, is the law under which the Archon Basileus has inscribed the names of the tenant and his guarantors (lines 23–25)? Is it the same law? Or is it another law that governs the lease of public lands? I believe that the two laws are the same, but the ambiguity is one of several difficulties in the interpretation of this document that are caused by poor drafting of the text. The mover of the decree and of its rider, Adosios, was evidently aware of these difficulties, but his rider actually creates more problems than it solves.

If there was such a law by which the leasing of publicly owned property was governed, it may well have been of fairly recent origin. There seems to have been a preoccupation with the financing, administration, and boundaries of sanctuaries at about this time, perhaps reflecting the unsettled conditions of the Archidamian War and the subsequent influx of people into Athens.<sup>27</sup> The present document, in fact, provides some of this evidence. Lines 7–8 include instructions to the horistai, who are to establish the boundaries of the sanctuary so that the enclosure may be correctly placed, and this measure, I believe, implies that confusion had arisen over its extent, which the new enclosure was designed to eliminate.

Our next example,<sup>28</sup> dated between 410 and 404 B.C., is not an enabling decree or lease record but a decree dealing with various kinds of tax, perhaps in land overseas controlled by Athens (line 9 refers to *apoikia*i and *klerouchiai*, for instance): among the items to be taxed are leases of land, houses, and other real estate (lines 5–6), but it is unclear whether these are public or private leases.<sup>29</sup>

At some time between 430 and 400 B.C., the deme of Plotheia passed a decree concerning the administration of the deme's revenues;<sup>30</sup> these included funds derived from rent of real property owned by the deme (line 10). The moneys derived from these leases (lines 22–25) and from interest earned on the deme's funds were to be used for the religious affairs of the deme.

The last dated lease record of the 5th century is another accounting record from Eleusis:<sup>31</sup> in 408/7 B.C. the income of the epistatai of the Sanctuary of the Eleusinian Gods included the rent paid for a temenos in Kythnos (line 147). There is no indication of the terms or conditions of this lease.

The lease records of the 5th century, sparse and fragmentary though they are, can be grouped into four out of the five categories into which fall the lease records of later times from Attica and the territories under Athenian control. The properties involved are cleruchies, to which Athens apparently retained legal title; properties taken over from tributary allies or subject states; properties owned by cults and sanctuaries, in Attica or elsewhere; and the property of lesser political organizations, such as demes. Only the fifth category is absent, properties owned by semipublic organizations such as phratriai, gene, and orgeones. It is notable that, except for the cleruchies, all these properties seem to have had religious significance, and this is equally true of the much more ample records of the 4th century: the revenues from these leases are often specifically tied to a particular cult or festival.

<sup>27</sup> Thucydides, 2.14.1, 17.1–3; see J. S. Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C.*, Groningen 1970, chap. VII, pp. 82–96, esp. pp. 87–92, for the buildings of this period.

<sup>28</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup>, 237; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 43, p. 99.

<sup>29</sup> Taxes, of course, could be levied on either public or private leases and paid by the tenant, unless he was granted specific exemption by the lessor, who then became responsible. What may be envisaged in IG I<sup>3</sup>, 237 is a “mixed” colony made up partly of cleruchs, partly of settlers, the latter not necessarily Athenians. Models for such “mixed” colonization are provided by Amphipolis and Thourioi. See P. A. Brunt, “Athenian Settlements Abroad in the Fifth Century B.C.,” in *Ancient Society and Institutions: Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg on his 75th Birthday*, Oxford 1965 (pp. 71–92), pp. 73–75.

<sup>30</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup>, 258; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 21, pp. 73–74.

<sup>31</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup>, 386, line 147; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 8, p. 61.

One more fragmentary lease, apparently granted by a phyle (*IG I*<sup>3</sup>, 252, lines 7–19), may be dated either to the late 5th or to the early 4th century.

In the 4th century the number of lease records increases dramatically, especially around the middle of the century: as well as the extensive series of mine leases (see Langdon, pp. 60–62 above), there are records in all the categories described above, and the number of leases granted by political organizations is much increased. Leases granted by semipublic religious corporations also become more and more common.

The earliest 4th-century examples of lease records are found in the accounts of the Delian amphiktyones (*IG I*<sup>3</sup>, 1633A, lines 1–19; 1634, line 8), which are similar to, but less detailed than, those of the 5th century.<sup>32</sup> In 387/6 B.C. Athens once again established a cleruchy on Lemnos, and a fragmentary decree survives (*L3*)<sup>33</sup> in which the activities of the cleruchs are defined: they are restrained, as had been their predecessors on the island of Salamis,<sup>34</sup> from leasing out the whole or part of their holdings, except under certain conditions. The restrictive clauses appear to be similar to, but rather fuller than, those of *IG I*<sup>3</sup>, 1, but the fragmentary nature of the text makes restoration difficult.

The accounts of the Delian amphiktyones continue through the middle of the century:<sup>35</sup> these vary in the amount of information that they provide regarding individual leases, but there is a tendency for them to become more detailed and to describe individual leases, rather than merely give a block total, as time goes on;<sup>36</sup> this development perhaps reflects practices in other areas of public leasing, such as the mine leases, which were carefully detailed by the poletai from the early 360's on (*passim*, **P5–P51**, pp. 76–137 above).

It appears that questions about the ownership and extent of public property were now being raised more often by the members of religious and political organizations. In 363/2 B.C. the Salaminioi of the Heptaphylai and the Salaminioi from Sounion were in dispute over the ownership of sanctuaries and real property and the control of festivals (*L4*, line 24).<sup>37</sup> This dispute was settled by arbitration. Among the points discussed was the disposition of rents received on properties belonging to the Salaminioi and leased out. These properties were to continue to be leased until the terms of their lease expired (lines 58–61), and the revenues from them were to be divided equally between the two branches of the Salaminioi and used for the maintenance of sacrifices and festivals. What was to be done with these properties after the terms of their leases expired is not made clear.

Before and around the middle of the century the number of lease records issued by political and religious groups increased. One such is the lengthy and complex decree of the state (*IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 204) by which the boundaries of the Sacred Orgas of the Eleusinian Gods were fixed, dated to 352/1 B.C. Evidently encroachments had occurred, and the authorities were concerned to re-establish the boundaries securely and to decide thereafter what to do with the land; they determined, in fact, to send a delegation to Delphi to ask the god Apollo what to do: whether or not the Sacred Orgas was to be leased out by the Archon Basileus and the revenues so raised to be used for the construction of a portico and the repair of the hieron of the Eleusinion in the City (lines 12–30). A commission of fifteen men was appointed to determine the boundaries of the Sacred Orgas (lines 5–10 and 74–84).

Documents issued at about this time by political bodies include a decree of the trittys of Epakreis,<sup>38</sup> by which a *chorion* on the Mesogeia was leased out; the rent may have been destined for religious purposes, but the fragmentary nature of this document makes restoration impossible. Also at about the same date the deme of Teithras issued two decrees under the terms of which the *κοινά* of the deme were to be leased out to private

<sup>32</sup> *IG I*<sup>3</sup>, 402 and Coupriy, *BCH* 61, 1937, pp. 366–373, nos. 1 and 2 (see footnotes 22 and 23 above, p. 154).

<sup>33</sup> See *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 2, pp. 51–52 (see also footnote 9 above, p. 151).

<sup>34</sup> *IG I*<sup>3</sup>, 1; see footnotes 9 and 16 above, pp. 151, 153.

<sup>35</sup> See footnote 23 above, p. 154. *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1635 A and B are dated between 377/6 and 374/3 and 1638A to 359/8 B.C.; the rest are all of the mid-4th century.

<sup>36</sup> Kent (p. 259) comments that by 375/4 B.C. the Delian and Rheneian leases were synchronized and all new leases were thereafter issued simultaneously. This fact, I believe, provides some indication that by 375/4 B.C. the properties administered by the Delian amphiktyones were subject to a uniform set of regulations or law, perhaps one specifically designed for Delos, or, perhaps, one governing all state-administered leases.

<sup>37</sup> See *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 34, p. 90.

<sup>38</sup> *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2490; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 45 a, pp. 100–101.

individuals. The first of these<sup>39</sup> includes an elaborate series of topographical references by which the property in question was defined (lines 8–11), as well as all the terms of the lease, which was to be in perpetuity (line 12). The tenant was to pay the rent each year and to pay any *eisphorai* that might be demanded of him, as well as normal taxes (lines 29–33). The tenant-designate was praised for his services to the deme (lines 5–7); this seems to indicate that his tenancy was designed, in fact, as a kind of liturgy, not necessarily providing him with adequate returns on his outlay but ensuring a regular income for the deme. The moneys thus realized were not tied to any specific purpose: rather, they were designed so that the demesmen of Teithras *εἰδῶσι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ τὰ προσίοντα* (lines 2–3). In other words, the tenant undertook to pay, in the form of rent, a sort of annuity to the deme. The second decree of this deme from this period (*SEG* XXIV, 152) may well have been similarly motivated but is very much simpler in form: it merely lists three leasehold properties and their tenants, without any indication of the terms and conditions.

Other demes, too, recorded on stone at this time leases granted to individuals, probably with similar motivations to those affecting the demesmen of Teithras. We possess examples from Acharnai (**L5**),<sup>40</sup> from Prasiai,<sup>41</sup> from Aixone,<sup>42</sup> from Rhamnous,<sup>43</sup> and from Eleusis,<sup>44</sup> all dated between 350 and 330 B.C. Some of these are very detailed, for instance, the decree from Rhamnous just mentioned, which in fact represents one of the few instances in which we can trace the history of a lease over two accounting periods. Two properties are involved (lines 3–41 and 42–94), one of which is described as having been farmed by another man than the present tenant (lines 5–6). Since the tenancy of the new lease was to stand for ten years, from 339/8 B.C., it is likely that the earlier lease had a similar term; we can thus trace the history of this property back to 349/8 B.C. Detailed instructions are given to the new tenant as to what he may or may not do with the land (lines 15–31); since the tenancy will expire after ten years and the property is evidently a valuable one, such care in defining what is to be done with it is understandable. Other provisions of the lease involve the settlement of disputes, lodging of an *apotimema*, care and upkeep of a building, and so on (lines 32–41), and the second lease is similarly closely defined (lines 42–94). The decree ends with provisions for sacrifice to Apollo Lykeios (lines 95ff.). Jameson, who has most recently edited this document and new fragments of it (footnote 43 above), suggests that the lessors are not the authorities of the deme of Rhamnous but a small group of wealthy individuals constituting a *meros*. The previous tenant, and also the future tenant, may have been, in fact, members of this *meros*, which acted, in effect, as a group of liturgists on behalf of the deme. The deme, through its wealthier members, obtained the wherewithal to carry on a specific religious activity, as well as ensuring the upkeep of one of its more valuable assets.

Jameson compares<sup>45</sup> the extremely detailed conditions of these two leases from Rhamnous (which can be matched, though with less elaboration, in the lease from Aixone<sup>46</sup>) with another extremely detailed lease of a temenos on the island of Amorgos, which, he believes, may reflect the influence of the agricultural theorist and Atthidographer Androtion, who acted as Athenian Governor of Amorgos at the time when this lease was drawn up:<sup>47</sup> some of its terminology and provisions may derive from Androtion's work *Georgika*,

<sup>39</sup> *SEG* XXIV, 151; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 24, pp. 76–80 and Wilhelm, “Attische Pachturkunden,” pp. 189–200.

<sup>40</sup> This decree might in some way be related to the series of leases of rights-of-way for an aqueduct granted to the deme of Acharnai at about the same date (see footnote 57 below, p. 158).

<sup>41</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2497; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 27, pp. 84–85.

<sup>42</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2492; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 25, pp. 80–83.

<sup>43</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2493 + 2494, with further additions: see M. H. Jameson, “The Leasing of Land in Rhamnous,” in *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIX, pp. 66–74; Professor Jameson has very kindly shown me the text of the paper given by him at the Eighth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy in Athens, 1982 (“Agriculture and Greek Inscriptions: Rhamnous and Amorgos,” in *Πρακτικά τοῦ Ἡ' Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ Λατινικῆς Ἐπιγραφικῆς*, Ἀθῆνα, 3–4 Ὀκτωβρίου 1982, Τόμος Β', pp. 290–292 [forthcoming]), in which he places *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2493 and 2494 in the same stele. See also *Attische Pachturkunden*, nos. 23 and 26, pp. 75–76 and 83–84 and Wilhelm, “Attische Pachturkunden,” pp. 200–205.

<sup>44</sup> *SEG* XXVI, 134 = XXVIII, 103, dated to 333/2 B.C.

<sup>45</sup> Jameson (footnote 43 above). Professor Jameson has kindly given me this information, which derives from his forthcoming study of ancient Greek agricultural practices.

<sup>46</sup> See footnote 42 above.

<sup>47</sup> For the Amorgos lease, see *IG* XII 7, 62 = Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 963; for Androtion's *Georgika*, see *FGH* IIIb, *Supplement* 2, Leiden 1954, p. 80, on *FGH* 324, F 75–82. For Androtion's governorship, see *IG* XII 7, 5 = Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 193.

described by Jacoby as a “short treatise in one book designed apparently for the practical use of the Attic farmer.”

Another lease (*SEG XXVIII*, 103), dated to 333/2 B.C., indicates another method by which a wealthy benefactor might assist his deme. In this case, the deme of Eleusis decided to lease out the use of a quarry to the highest bidder (lines 21–24) and to use the money so obtained for the festival of Herakles in Akris (lines 31–34). The successful bidder was granted a five-year lease, in addition to which he made an outright gift of money to the god (lines 6–9). He was, however, constrained under the terms of the decree to furnish two guarantors who would swear to ensure payment of the rent at the proper time (lines 29–30).

The provision of a regular income with which to carry on religious activities was very likely the major function of leases by religious organizations as well. To the same period as the deme decrees discussed above belong several leases issued by such religious organizations: the *meritai* of the Kytherioi, who leased out a workshop, house, and little dung-house in Peiraieus in perpetuity in return for a regular income,<sup>48</sup> the orgeones of Bendis, who seem to have leased out their cult building in return for its upkeep, on condition that they were permitted access for cult purposes,<sup>49</sup> and the orgeones of the Heros [Iatros], who leased out a garden in 333/2 B.C. for 30 years, permitting the tenant to build a house on the property and to remove from it at the expiry of his tenancy the roof tiles and timber that he had put into it (*SEG XXIV*, 203). Bulk records of leases, similar to those of the sanctuaries of Apollo Delios and of the Eleusinian Gods,<sup>50</sup> become increasingly common around and after the middle of the 4th century. These bulk records were issued by the Athenian state, acting as leasing agent for a variety of cults of which that of Athena Polias was the most important. The motivation for such bulk leasing is unclear: we do not know whether the leases recorded here were new ventures or merely the gathering of many existing leases into one basket. The system is, of course, very similar to that employed from the early 360's by the poletai for the recording of leases of state-owned mines and sales of confiscated properties, and it is possible that the poletai, together with the Archon Basileus, were responsible for this system of leases of real property as well, as they had been in the 5th century<sup>51</sup> and continued to be on at least one occasion as late as the 330's (L7). In these bulk records a series of leases is listed. The owner of the properties may be a single cult or sanctuary, or there may be several owners; in each case, such ownership is indicated by the heading of the stele, in the case of a single owner (L9, line 1), or by a general heading followed by sub-headings throughout the text, when several owners are involved (L6, lines 2–3 and *passim*). The leased properties themselves are described briefly, with the names of the tenants and their guarantors and the amount of the rent for each property. The terms and conditions are not listed, and it must be assumed that these were recorded elsewhere or defined by a general law of the kind that I have suggested was in force at the time that *IG I<sup>3</sup>*, 84 was put into effect.<sup>52</sup>

The earliest such bulk record may date to the 5th century (L2). From the 4th century comes the record of the lease of properties on Salamis,<sup>53</sup> perhaps a record of properties owned by the state rather than of cult properties, and those of 343/2 B.C. (L6),<sup>54</sup> of ca. 338–326 B.C. (L9–L12),<sup>55</sup> and of the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C. (L14 and L15),<sup>56</sup> all, perhaps, parts of the same series of leases of cult properties for which the state acted as leasing agent.

The deme of Acharnai provides the earliest examples of a political body acting as tenant rather than as lessor. Around the middle of the 4th century the deme rented land in perpetuity from several private individuals living in Acharnai or in neighboring demes, in order to obtain a right-of-way for an aqueduct.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2496; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 35, pp. 90–91.

<sup>49</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1361; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 37, p. 96.

<sup>50</sup> For Apollo Delios, see above, pp. 154, 155, and 156 and footnotes 23, 32, 35, and 36; for the Eleusinian Gods, see above, pp. 150, 154, 155 and footnote 31.

<sup>51</sup> See above, pp. 154–155.

<sup>52</sup> See above, pp. 150, 154–155 and footnote 26.

<sup>53</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1590 a (*ante med. s. IV a.*); see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 33, pp. 89–90.

<sup>54</sup> See *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 11, pp. 62–63.

<sup>55</sup> For L10, see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 14, pp. 67–68.

<sup>56</sup> For L14a, see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 12, p. 63.

<sup>57</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2491 and 2502 and *SEG XIX*, 181 and 182; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 22, pp. 74–75. E. Vanderpool has suggested that this series of leases was granted not to the deme of Acharnai but to the state: “The Athenian Aqueduct,” in *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδον* I, Athens 1965, pp. 165–175. See footnote 40 above, p. 157.

There is no earlier inscriptional evidence, but it is quite possible that the state and other political bodies had entered into similar perpetual leases as early as the 6th century B.C. in order to acquire rights-of-way or land for public purposes.<sup>58</sup>

We have already seen a 5th-century example of a property leased by a cult,<sup>59</sup> although the property in question was secular rather than religious in character. It is possible that other cults, particularly those of foreign origin, may have entered into similar leasing arrangements, especially at the beginning of their history; the grants of *enktesis* to the Thracian worshippers of Bendis (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1283, a decree of the 3rd century, whose lines 4–7 refer back to the original grant of *enktesis*, dated shortly before 429/8 B.C.), the Egyptian worshippers of Isis (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 337, 333/2 B.C.), and the Cypriot worshippers of Aphrodite (referred to in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 337, lines 42–45, and thus dated shortly before 333/2 B.C.) permitted these cults to own, rather than lease, land, but they may have leased land until the grants of *enktesis* were made to them.<sup>60</sup> There is a slight possibility that **L16**, a lease of the late 2nd or early 1st century B.C., is an example of a cult (that of Bendis and Deloptis) leasing property from the state, but, so far as this document can be restored, the language suggests in fact the reverse. Phylai, as well as demes and trittyes, could own property and often leased it out for profit: from the 330's or 320's there survives a complete, but unfortunately very badly damaged, stele that records the results of land survey in the Oropia, involving the phylai Aigeis and Aiantis (**L8**). These phylai had been jointly allotted land on the frontier between Oropos and Attica, when the territory of Oropos was ceded to Athens in 338 B.C. Encroachments had occurred, both by tenants and by non-leasing neighbors, in land that was hilly and difficult to survey. All properties in the area were surveyed and their boundaries recorded upon the stele, including records of leasing wherever this had occurred; copies of this record may have been set up in the *κοινά* of each of the phylai concerned.<sup>61</sup>

Apart from the bulk leases mentioned earlier, the state also granted individual leases of state- or cult-owned property. By a decree of the state, dated between 338 and 330 B.C. (**L7**),<sup>62</sup> sacred land probably recently acquired by Athens as the result of the cession to it of the territory of Oropos was also leased out, the moneys accruing from the rents to be used for the celebration of the Lesser Panathenaia (lines 4–11). The officers charged with letting out the property, which was divided into two parcels and leased to the highest bidder, were the *poletai* (lines 11–12). The decree is one of those measures initiated by associates of the statesman Lykourgos during his own and his predecessor Euboulos' administrations by which the religious and financial administration of the state was reformed and put on a firm footing.<sup>63</sup> The bulk leases referred to above (**L6**, **L9–L12**, **L14**, **L15**) probably represent another aspect of these reforms, dealing as they do with the leases of cult properties for which the state acted as leasing agent.

Three other possible individual leases apparently granted by the state at about this time are too fragmentary to permit coherent restoration.<sup>64</sup> A more complete example of a lease granted by the state is dated a little after 336/5 B.C.<sup>65</sup> Its terminology suggests that this is a grant of a lease of a mine, rather than of some other kind of property.

Just before the death of Alexander the Great another type of lease of public property is found. The deme of Peiraieus in 324/3 B.C. passed a decree by which a group of contractors was granted a lease of the principal theater in Peiraieus (**L13**):<sup>66</sup> in return for carrying out repairs and extensions to the theater, the contractors were given the right to collect and to use for their own purposes the entry fees paid by spectators (lines 9–16). Such "performance leases" may have been quite common, but this is the only undoubted example to survive. The contractors really undertook, as it were, a liturgy, for which the gate money is unlikely to

<sup>58</sup> The earliest such case was, perhaps, the Peisistratid aqueduct; see Boersma (footnote 27 above, p. 155), no. 104, p. 224.

<sup>59</sup> See above, p. 154.

<sup>60</sup> On *enktesis* see J. Pecírka, *The Formula for the Grant of Enktesis in Attic Inscriptions*, Prague 1966, esp. pp. 137–149.

<sup>61</sup> M. K. Langdon, "An Athenian Decree Concerning Oropos," *Hesperia* 56, 1987, pp. 47–58. For a different interpretation of the context of this document, see Osborne, "Social and Economic Implications," p. 286 and note 22.

<sup>62</sup> See *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 13, pp. 63–67. Langdon (p. 64 above with footnotes 40 and 41) disagrees with regard to both the nature and the location of this territory.

<sup>63</sup> See footnote 14 above, pp. 152–153.

<sup>64</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 295 and 310: a little before 336/5; and *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 341: 333/2 B.C.

<sup>65</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 411; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 18, pp. 71–72 and Wilhelm, "Attische Pachturkunden," pp. 206–215.

<sup>66</sup> See *Attische Pachturkunden*, nos. 30 and 31, pp. 86–88.

have recompensed them in full: I have mentioned above similar cases in which the persons acting as leasing agents for the deme or other organization are themselves among the tenants, as Jameson has recently suggested.<sup>67</sup> It is perhaps a natural extension of the system of liturgies and of the practice of farming out taxes.

The deme of Peiraieus was also responsible in 321/0 B.C. (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2498) for the leases of several *temene* owned by the deme, which seem to have been let for a term of ten years. The provisions of these leases included the lodging of securities (*apotimemata*), guarantors, exemption from taxes and *eisphorai*, prohibitions against removal of mud, earth, and timber, fixed dates for payment of installments of rent, and restrictions on the use of the land.

After the death of Alexander the Great the number of lease records declines sharply. This fact is probably a reflection of the confused political situation over the ensuing half-century. All categories of lease record appear, however, except those revealed by temple accounts.<sup>68</sup>

There are three examples of late 4th- or early 3rd-century bulk records (**L14a** and **L14b**; **L15**): leases of sacred properties granted by the state acting as agent for their owners. As such, they may represent the continuation of the series from 343/2 and 333/2 B.C.<sup>69</sup>

In 306/5 B.C. the orgeones of Egretes,<sup>70</sup> and in the late 4th century the orgeones of Hypodektes,<sup>71</sup> granted leases by which, in return for the use of the hieron, the tenant paid rent to the orgeones, allowed them access for cult purposes, and was subject to certain restrictions and conditions as well as being granted concessions. These were clearly efforts on the part of the orgeones to obtain a regular source of funds for the continuation of their cult, and the tenants in each case were probably members of the same group, so that the leases were, in effect, liturgies.<sup>72</sup>

There are two more examples of documents issued by demes late in the 4th century. One is too fragmentary to permit restoration;<sup>73</sup> the other is an agreement entered into by the demes of Thria and Eleusis,<sup>74</sup> by which the deme of Eleusis takes out a lease for ten years on a *synoikia* (probably a market building with separate stalls for merchants) in the agora of the Thriasians (lines 2–3). As in many other lease agreements entered into by demes, the text is quite elaborate, with many terms, conditions, and restrictions, but is too fragmentary for the most part to permit coherent restoration. The document includes an inventory of equipment. This is the only surviving example of the lease by one political body of a property belonging to another.

The first half of the 3rd century provides further examples of leases granted by political bodies. The first is a lease granted by the deme of Prasiai<sup>75</sup> involving a penalty clause in the event of non-payment of the rent (lines 4–11), as well as a war-damage clause (lines 11–16). It also includes an inventory of equipment (lines 16–27). There are two fragmentary leases issued by phylai. The phyle of Erechtheis granted a lease in which was included a clause permitting the officers of the phyle to make an annual inspection of the property to see that it was in good order and being properly farmed.<sup>76</sup> Another, granted by an unknown phyle,<sup>77</sup> despite its fragmentary condition indicates that phylai (and probably also other political bodies) followed a similar

<sup>67</sup> Jameson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIX (see footnote 43 above, p. 157), pp. 72–74.

<sup>68</sup> This situation is not surprising in view of Delos' achievement of independence from Athens in 314 B.C. The absence of any record from Eleusis may be due merely to an accident of survival. The authorities in independent Delos seem to have continued the system initiated by the Athenian *amphiktyones*: see Kent, p. 260, note 49.

<sup>69</sup> **L6**, **L9–L12**. I suggested in 1983 ("Part IV" [footnote 1 above, p. 149], p. 230 and note 135) that the so-called *Rationes Centesimarum* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1594–1603+) might represent continuation, in a different form, of the series **L6** and **L9–L12** but noted in 1984 ("Part V" [footnote 1 above, p. 149], p. 361, note 2) that this speculation should be abandoned or at least modified. Osborne ([footnote 6 above, p. 58], pp. 56–59) has now made the plausible suggestion that the *Rationes Centesimarum* actually should be regarded as records of leases rather than of sales of land. If he is correct in this view, then my suggestion of 1983 may be valid after all. See also Osborne, "Social and Economic Implications," p. 284. Since, however, the bulk of the fragments of the *Rationes Centesimarum* derive from finds on the Akropolis, rather than from the Agora, I have thought it best to omit them from discussion here.

<sup>70</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2499; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 39, pp. 96–97.

<sup>71</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2501; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 40, pp. 97–98.

<sup>72</sup> See Jameson's remarks about the Rhamnous lease (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2493 + 2494) and my comments thereon, above, pp. 157 and 159–160, footnotes 43 and 67.

<sup>73</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1211AB. **L15** may also belong to this category.

<sup>74</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2500; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 32, p. 89.

<sup>75</sup> *SEG* XXI, 644; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 28, p. 85.

<sup>76</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1165, line 17; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 19, p. 73.

<sup>77</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1168; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 20, p. 73.

course to that followed by the state in protecting their interest in the leasehold property. What survives of this document is a clause relating to payment of the rent to the officers of the phyle; the terminology is very similar to that of *IG I<sup>3</sup>*, 84.<sup>78</sup> A long clause defines the duties and obligations of the guarantors of the leases (lines 11–19), and a final clause deals with the publication of the decree, together with the names of the tenants and their guarantors which are to be written beside the *synthekai* (lines 19–25: evidently the terms and conditions of the individual leases rather than this decree, which seems to be merely an enabling decree).<sup>79</sup>

To 300/299 B.C. belongs the lease record by which the phratría of the Dyaleis entered into an agreement to lease its *koinon* at Myrrhinous.<sup>80</sup> The tenant was constrained by an elaborate series of conditions under which he was to farm the property and care for its buildings (lines 19–25), and specific dates were set for the payment of the rent, together with penalties for non-payment (lines 25–41). He was also exempted from taxes on the property and protected against losses by enemy action or from any other cause (lines 14–16). By a clause unique in this series of lease records the tenant was also given the option to purchase the property outright at any time during the term of his lease (lines 41–54): the rent was 600 drachmas a year, for ten years, but the tenant was permitted to buy the property for 5,000 drachmas and any unpaid rent. The lessors thus obtained a steady source of income for ten years and, in addition, had the chance of converting their property into cash, which presumably could then be lent out at interest. Whether this was a wise course to take in the unsettled conditions of the 3rd century is, of course, a moot point, but the owners may have felt that cash in hand was safer than a country property subject to natural disasters or to enemy action.<sup>81</sup>

To the latter part of the 3rd century belongs the result of a dispute amongst the members of a group of *orgeones*.<sup>82</sup> It appears that certain members of the cult had treated its property as their own and had sold it, hypothecated it as security for a loan, or leased it out to their own advantage. Perhaps the origin of the dispute was an earlier tenancy by a liturgist, who then misappropriated the property. In any case, the result of the settlement was a prohibition upon the selling, hypothecation, or lease of cult property except for the purpose of carrying on the cult.

Three other fragmentary lease records survive from late in the 3rd century.<sup>83</sup> They are possibly deme decrees but are too fragmentary to permit restoration.

Our last record of leasing of public property before the Roman era is a tantalizing fragment of a decree of the *orgeones* of Bendis and Deloptis (**L16**)<sup>84</sup> dated late in the 2nd or early in the 1st century B.C. It appears to be an agreement on the part of the *orgeones* to lease out part of their property to the Athenian state, although too little survives for coherent restoration to be possible. I have already mentioned the possibility that this may, instead, be an agreement on the part of the state to lease property to the *orgeones*.<sup>85</sup>

To the early Imperial era belongs a document concerned with the repair and upkeep of sanctuaries throughout Attica.<sup>86</sup> Among its provisions is a clause (lines 16–20) by which leases of sacred properties are to be recorded. It appears that encroachments had occurred at various times, and the authorities were now concerned to establish once again the boundaries of sacred properties throughout Attica and to determine what was leased and what was not. The encroachments and misappropriations of the sacred *temene* had probably occurred during the unsettled years after the dictatorship of Sulla and before the establishment of Augustus' principate. The most recent editor of this document<sup>87</sup> suggests that the occasion for the promulgation of the

<sup>78</sup> *IG I<sup>3</sup>*, 84; see footnote 26 above, p. 154.

<sup>79</sup> In Delos in 434 B.C. the leases were governed by individual contracts (*ἐνυγγραφαί*; see *IG I<sup>3</sup>*, 402, line 19). *Συνθηκαί*, the term used here, may have the same meaning, unless its use merely reflects poor drafting by the proposer of this decree and its rider. See also *Attische Pachturkunden*, pp. 111–116.

<sup>80</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1241; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 36, pp. 91–95 and Wilhelm, "Attische Pachturkunden," pp. 200–205.

<sup>81</sup> On this arrangement, see Lewis (footnote 1 above, p. 149), pp. 197–198.

<sup>82</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1289; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 41, pp. 98–99.

<sup>83</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 2503 and 2504; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 45 b and c, pp. 100–101. *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 598 is another fragmentary lease record of this period.

<sup>84</sup> See *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 42, p. 99.

<sup>85</sup> See p. 159 above.

<sup>86</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1035; see *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 16, pp. 68–69.

<sup>87</sup> G. R. Culley, "The Restoration of Sanctuaries in Attica: *I.G. II<sup>2</sup>*, 1035," *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 207–223 and 46, 1977, pp. 282–298.



decree was the Athenian recovery of Salamis, which had been sold at the time of Sulla and bought back for Athens by Julius Nikanor in the last decade before Christ.<sup>88</sup>

### TERMS OF LEASES: DATES OF INCEPTION AND PAYMENT

By late in the 4th century publicly owned temene were being leased out for periods of ten years, and their rents were payable in the ninth prytany of each year. Thus there was probably a set time in each year at which such leases were granted, or, at least, there was an *official* inception date, regardless of the actual one (*Ath. Pol.* 47.2).

Is there any evidence to suggest that this state of affairs was of fairly recent origin? In the earliest example of an enabling decree for a lease of public property, that of 418/17 B.C. by which the temenos of Neleus and Basile was leased out,<sup>89</sup> we find that this temenos was to be let for a period of 20 years (lines 13 and 37). Payment of the rent, however, was to be made each year in the ninth prytany (line 16), and the apodektai were charged with receiving and disposing of this rent, just as they were charged according to the terms cited in the *Athenaion Politeia* (47.2). The implication of this text, I believe, is that the system described in the *Athenaion Politeia* was not a new disposition but one already in effect in the later 5th century. The difference in the term of the lease of 418/17 may be accounted for by another condition that is laid down in the decree (lines 33–34), by which the tenant is instructed to plant not less than two hundred olive trees in the temenos. The usual term of ten years would hardly suffice for these trees to mature and bear fruit, thus assuring some return for the tenant upon his investment; therefore, the lease was extended. This same decree also mentions a νόμος (line 25) by the terms of which the Archon Basileus was to publish the names of the tenant and of his guarantors, as well as the amount of rent to be paid. The same law, I believe, also governs the mechanism of payment of the rent.<sup>90</sup>

Another lease of public property<sup>91</sup> has a term of 25 years. This also seems, however, to be an exceptional case, in this instance, the lease of a mine to be developed jointly by the tenant and the state, with the profits accruing in alternate years to each of the parties. The tenant, therefore, needed a longer time than was usual in order to realize upon his investment (the mine, too, may have been a more speculative venture than the usual run of mines, perhaps in an area that had not hitherto shown any signs of holding workable ores).

The only other case before the time that the *Athenaion Politeia* was compiled in which we know the term of a lease of public property is that of the sacred lands, probably in the Oropia and known as the Nea (L7). This property was let out for a term of ten years. The date of payment of the rent is not stated in the decree but is likely to have been the ninth prytany of each year, since the date of this document is so close to that of the *Athenaion Politeia*.

Thus, unless the character of the property being leased required an exceptional term in order to allow the tenant to realize something on his investment, there is no evidence to suggest that, after 418/17 at least, leases granted by the state had terms other than ten years. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that this

<sup>88</sup> See SEG XXIV, 143. For Nikanor's career and dates, see C. P. Jones, "Three Foreigners in Attica," *Phoenix* 32, 1978 (pp. 222–234), pp. 222–228, no. 1. Another document of Roman date, IG II<sup>2</sup>, 2776 (ca. 117–138 p.; most recently discussed by S. G. Miller, "A Roman Monument in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 41, 1972, pp. 50–95), though it may be concerned with leaseholdings, derives from the private, rather than from the public, sector and is not therefore discussed here, although it is included in *Attische Pachturkunden* as no. 45 d, p. 101.

<sup>89</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup>, 84 (footnote 26 above, p. 154).

<sup>90</sup> See p. 154 and footnote 26 above. In [Dem.], 43.58 there is cited from the code a law that dealt with the lease of public temene, very likely a law similar to that mentioned in line 25 of IG I<sup>3</sup>, 84 (the νόμος τῶν τεμενῶν), if it is not the same law: τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδόντας τὰς μισθώσεις τῶν τεμενῶν τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπωνύμων ἀτίμους εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γένος καὶ κληρονόμους τοὺς τούτων ἕως ἂν ἀποδιδῶσιν. . . . See *Attische Pachturkunden*, p. 59, note 39 and p. 107, note 30. Demosthenes also mentions laws that governed leasing and guaranteeing by private individuals (24.40).

<sup>91</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup>, 411; see footnote 65 above, p. 159. See Schulthess, s.v. μισθός (footnote 1 above, p. 149), col. 2105:18–33. The editors of IG considered this document to be concerned with the draining of a marsh in Euboea: Wilhelm, "Attische Pachturkunden," pp. 201–215) put forward a fuller text and identified the subject of this lease as a silver mine. Later commentators considered "the identification of this decree as a mining concession" to be "dubious" (J. F. Healey, *Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World*, London 1978, p. 104), but no better suggestion has been made.

ten-year term was customary even earlier. In 434/3 B.C. the first surviving accounts of the Delian amphiktyones indicate that properties on Delos (and in subsequent years, on Rheneia as well) were leased out for terms of ten years.<sup>92</sup> Both sets of accounts are repeated in 410/09 B.C.,<sup>93</sup> with the same terms. Thus it is clear that the normal term of such leases was ten years, even though the dates of inception of the leases might have varied during the period of Athenian domination over Delos and Rheneia in the 5th century; the dates of payment might also have varied, although I am inclined to doubt this. Kent infers from this evidence that there were "no general laws or set of regulations that applied to all estates alike" governing the leases of the Delos and Rheneia properties,<sup>94</sup> but, in my view, since the Delian amphiktyones were, in effect, officers of the state, their actions with regard to leases are likely to have been governed by the same code of practice as that which governed the state's officers elsewhere, perhaps even by a νόμος such as that mentioned in the decree of 418/17 B.C.<sup>95</sup>

In the bulk record of leases of sacred properties granted by the state ca. 338–326 B.C., the postscript to the second stele (L10, Face B, lines 35–39) states that the final leases in this record were granted after all the rest but were to have the same date for payment of the rent as the others recorded upon this stele. This date is not found in any of the surviving fragments, and it must be assumed that it was set out in the enabling decree that governed the entire series.<sup>96</sup> Given the date of this series and the fact that the entire document deals with leases of sacred properties, it is likely that the lease in every case was for ten years, and that all the formal inception dates, as well as the payment dates, were the same.

If we employ the leases of state-owned mines as an analogy, we find that in the early years of the system mines were leased out perhaps in every prytany of the year; by the 340's and 330's, however, it had become the practice for these mine leases to be registered at the beginning of the civil year, probably on the first business day of the first month.<sup>97</sup> I think it highly likely that the same procedure was followed in the case of leases of sacred and public property and that, by the 340's at least, the formal inception date for all such leases was the first business day of the civil year. Leases granted by cults in Attica or by political and religious groups varied as to term, dates for payment of the rent, and dates of inception:<sup>98</sup> clearly there was no set practice, but as time went on these bodies too seem to have come closer to the procedures followed by the state.<sup>99</sup>

## CONDITIONS OF THE LEASES

Neither in the bulk records nor in the accounts of the Eleusinian Sanctuary and those of the Delian amphiktyones are any conditions stated. It can be inferred, however, that for leases granted by the state, and probably for those granted by the authorities of the Delian and the Eleusinian sanctuaries as well, all tenants had to furnish guarantors, one guarantor for leases involving rents under 600 drachmas, two for rents over 600 and under 1200 drachmas, and so on.<sup>100</sup> In the case of state-granted leases, these guarantors were always Athenian citizens.<sup>101</sup> Other conditions must have been laid down, but the surviving enabling decrees provide very little evidence for the range of conditions that might have applied.

<sup>92</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 402; see p. 154 above and footnote 22.

<sup>93</sup> Coupry (footnote 23 above, p. 154), pp. 367–369, no. 1.

<sup>94</sup> Kent, p. 259.

<sup>95</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84; see footnote 26 above, p. 154.

<sup>96</sup> See Walbank, "Part IV" (footnote 1 above, p. 149), pp. 226–227.

<sup>97</sup> See Crosby, 1950 (footnote 1 above, p. 149), p. 192 and Walbank, "Part IV" (footnote 1 above, p. 149), p. 222, note 94.

<sup>98</sup> Five-year lease: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2504(?); ten-year leases: L7; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1241; 2493 + 2494+; 2498(?); 2499; 2500; 2503(?); 30-year lease: *SEG* XXIV, 203; 40-year lease: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2492; perpetual leases: L5; *SEG* XXIV, 151; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2496; 2497; 2501. The quarry lease *SEG* XXVIII, 103 has a term of five years, and the leases granted to the deme of Acharnai for a right-of-way (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2491 and 2502 and *SEG* XIX, 181 and 182) are perpetual leases. The leases granted by the Delian amphiktyones (*IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 402 and its successors; see footnote 23 above, p. 154) all seem to be ten-year leases. Some leases specify one installment of rent each year (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2492; 2493 + 2494+; 2501; *SEG* XXI, 644[?]; XXIV, 203; XXVIII, 103); some specify two installments each year (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1241; 2496; 2497; 2498; 2499); one specifies three (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1168); and one lease specifies four (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2500). In almost every case the precise date(s) of payment are included in the terms of the lease. See *Attische Pachturkunden*, pp. 116–118.

<sup>99</sup> See, for instance, the lease granted by the phyle of Erechtheis (footnote 76 above, p. 160).

<sup>100</sup> Walbank, "Part I" and "Part IV" (footnote 1 above, p. 149), p. 135, note 159 and p. 208, note 15.

<sup>101</sup> Walbank, "Part IV" (footnote 1 above, p. 149), p. 220, note 88.

Individual leases probably were governed by lease contracts, of the sort that we see mentioned in the accounts of the Delian amphiktyones in the 430's;<sup>102</sup> there may also, as I have suggested above,<sup>103</sup> have been a general law, but this is hardly likely to have laid down individual conditions. The earliest surviving enabling decree of the state (L1) is too fragmentary to allow much restoration of the conditions laid down in this lease. There is mention of regulations or written agreements (line 3), of an inception date (line 5), of money, presumably the rent (lines 6 and 13), and of repayment (line 14?). The decree deals with an individual lease, not with a general class of leases, and since the surviving fragments seem to derive from an amendment, or even from an amendment to an amendment, it may be assumed that other conditions were laid down in the missing portions of the document.

The complete enabling decree mentioned earlier,<sup>104</sup> by which the temenos of Neleus and Basile was leased out, included, in addition to the term and dates for payment of the rent, clauses directing the tenant's use of the property. He was to plant not less than two hundred olive trees, more if he wished; he had rights to rain water in part of a ditch; and he could use mud from the temenos in constructing the enclosure for the hieron of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile. In addition, the decree mentions *συνγραφαί* twice (lines 5 and 31): the juxtaposition of this word with instructions for leasing out the temenos (lines 4–5: *ἐρχσαι τὸ hieron τῷ Κόδρῳ καὶ τῷ Νελέῳ καὶ τῇ Βασίλει κ[α]ὶ μισθῶσαι τὸ τέμενος κατὰ τὰς συνγραφάς*) leaves the impression that these *συνγραφαί* may not be merely the specifications for the enclosure of the hieron but also a separate lease contract.<sup>105</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84 is the only complete example of an enabling decree of the state to survive, either from the 5th century or from later periods. Other such decrees are too fragmentary to permit us to form an accurate picture of the sort of conditions that might have been included in leases granted by the state,<sup>106</sup> and we have to turn to leases granted by political and religious bodies in order to gain some idea of the range of conditions, restrictions, and concessions that such leases might include. Even these documents, however, are less full than we might expect, and it must be assumed that leases granted by political and religious bodies, too, were governed, in many cases, by separate lease contracts which have not survived.<sup>107</sup>

What we find in the epigraphic record, above all, are provisions for the use and upkeep of the properties being leased.<sup>108</sup> This is especially true of the period after the middle of the 4th century, where the largest number of such documents is found. I have commented earlier, following Jameson,<sup>109</sup> on the concern for the care and protection of the land that is expressed in the ideas of the Atthidographer Androtion, whose treatise *Georgika* appeared at about this time. We may expect that the *συνγραφαί* governing leases granted by the state expressed a similar concern.<sup>110</sup>

I have mentioned above<sup>111</sup> the requirement that prospective tenants should furnish guarantors for their leases. Similar requirements occur in leases granted by political and religious organizations, but, of course, such bodies had less chance of forcing a guarantor to make good on a defaulting tenant's obligations, so that they were compelled to rely upon other means of security, such as *apotimemata*, for their protection.<sup>112</sup> The state, with its wider range of powers, is unlikely to have required such protection in addition to the guarantors that it demanded.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>102</sup> See footnote 79 above, p. 161.

<sup>103</sup> See footnote 90 above, p. 162.

<sup>104</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84; footnote 26 above, p. 154.

<sup>105</sup> See footnote 26 above, p. 154; see also footnote 79 above, p. 161.

<sup>106</sup> L1; L2; L7; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 204, 295(?), 310(?), 341(?), 411.

<sup>107</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 243(?); 258; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2490; *SEG* XXIV, 151; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2491 and 2502; *SEG* XIX, 181 and 182; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2493 + 2494+, 2496, 2497, 1361, 2492; *SEG* XXVIII, 103; *SEG* XXIV, 203; L8; L13; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 1211, 1241; *SEG* XXI, 644; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1168, 1165, 1289, 2504, 2503; L16. The texts are listed in chronological order.

<sup>108</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84; L5(?); *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2493 + 2494+, 1361, 310(?), 295(?), 341(?), 2492, 411; *SEG* XXIV, 203; L13; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 1211(?), 1241; *SEG* XXI, 644; L16(?). The texts are listed in chronological order. In *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84 and 402 separate lease contracts seem to be implied (see footnotes 22, 26, 79 above, pp. 154 and 161); in *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1165, line 21, and 1168, line 11, *συνθηκαί* and *συνγραφαί*, respectively, seem to mean similar separate lease contracts in which provisions for the care and upkeep of the properties were specified. See *Attische Pachturkunden*, pp. 111–116 and 121–122.

<sup>109</sup> See footnote 47 above, p. 157.

<sup>110</sup> See also *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84 (footnote 26 above, p. 154).

<sup>111</sup> Footnote 100 above, p. 163. See *Attische Pachturkunden*, pp. 124–127.

<sup>112</sup> Security required: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1168, 2490(?), 2498. Security waived(?): *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1241, 2497.

<sup>113</sup> See Walbank, "Part IV" (footnote 1 above, p. 149), pp. 220–221.

Other features of leases granted by political or religious organizations which might be expected to be found also in the contracts governing leases granted by the state are such items as provisions concerning liability for, or exemption from, *eisphorai* and taxes,<sup>114</sup> crops and their collection, distribution, or sale,<sup>115</sup> water rights,<sup>116</sup> rights of inheritance,<sup>117</sup> and damage by enemy action or from any other cause.<sup>118</sup>

## RENEWALS

There is no explicit ban on renewals, either in leases granted by the state or in those granted by other bodies. Indeed, since in some cases the enabling decree includes instructions that the property in question should be leased to the highest bidder,<sup>119</sup> I think it very likely that when the term of a lease expired the outgoing tenant was entitled to enter his bid, along with those of any others who might care to offer, and that the highest bid among these secured the lease. There is, however, some indication that this was not always the case, and that the outgoing tenant was given priority, if he was prepared to accept a fixed increase at the end of each term. This evidence is provided by the record of leases granted by the authorities of the Sanctuary of Apollo Delios after 314 B.C., where renewals seem to have been permitted if the tenant accepted a ten percent increase.<sup>120</sup> At first sight, this provision would not appear to have any bearing upon Athenian practice, since the renewals in question date after the independence of Delos; it has been argued with some plausibility by Kent,<sup>121</sup> however, that this practice was, in fact, taken over from the period of Athenian domination. It is possible, therefore, that the Athenian state also allowed the tenants of public or sacred properties to renew their leases with a fixed increase of ten percent, rather than open these leases to the highest bidder. If there was a general law on public leasing, such a privilege would surely have been included amongst its terms.<sup>122</sup>

## RESTRICTIONS ON LEASING

There is no evidence that the state placed any limitation upon the amount of property that any one man might lease, nor is there any indication that restrictions were imposed upon metics to prevent their settling in particular districts. There is one case, from the 5th century (**L2**), in which sacred properties in land held by the state abroad may have been leased out to Athenian metics as well as to Athenian citizens and also, perhaps, to natives. Cleruchies, while not, strictly speaking, leases of state property, seem to have been subject to certain restrictions: the cleruchs were not permitted to lease out any part of their holdings to anyone else, except, probably, to their kin.<sup>123</sup> The reason for such a restriction, of course, lies in the military character of the cleruchies.<sup>124</sup> There is no real evidence that metics were prevented from residing in certain areas of Attica, such as Sounion with its naval base, and, perhaps, frontier areas held to be strategically important and not, therefore, to be settled by non-Athenians.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>114</sup> *Eisphorai* waived: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1241, 2492, 2497, 2498, 2499. *Eisphorai* to be paid by tenant: *SEG* XXIV, 151; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2496. Taxes to be paid by lessor: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1241, 2497, 2498. Taxes to be paid by tenant: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2490(?), 2496, 2500; *SEG* XXIV, 151. See *Attische Pachturkunden*, pp. 119–120.

<sup>115</sup> Crops specified or protected: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1165 (general farming); 1211 (olives?); 1241 (barley, vines, trees, legumes); 2492 (fallow, olives, vines); 2493 + 2494+ (fallow, olives, vines, wheat, barley, legumes); 2498 (mixed); 2499 (trees). In the state lease *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84 (footnote 26 above, p. 154) the tenant is to plant at least two hundred olive trees. See *Attische Pachturkunden*, pp. 121–122.

<sup>116</sup> Water rights: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1361, 2493 + 2494+(?). In the state lease *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84 the tenant is granted rights to water in part of a ditch. The deme of Acharnai (or, possibly, the state) obtained rights-of-way for an aqueduct by means of perpetual leases granted by private individuals (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2491 and 2502 and *SEG* XIX, 181 and 182: see footnote 57 above, p. 158). See *Attische Pachturkunden*, pp. 122–123.

<sup>117</sup> Right to pass on tenancy to heirs: **L5**; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1241, 1361(?), 2496, 2497, 2501; *SEG* XXI, 644(?); *SEG* XXIV, 151. See *Attische Pachturkunden*, p. 140.

<sup>118</sup> Clause relating to damage by enemy action or from any other cause: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1241, 2492; *SEG* XXI, 644; *SEG* XXIV, 151. See *Attische Pachturkunden*, pp. 120–121.

<sup>119</sup> High-bid clause: **L7**; *SEG* XXVIII, 103.

<sup>120</sup> See Kent, p. 260 and note 49.

<sup>121</sup> Kent, p. 260.

<sup>122</sup> See above, pp. 155 and 158.

<sup>123</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 1 and 417; **L3**.

<sup>124</sup> See also footnote 9 above, p. 151.

<sup>125</sup> See Walbank, "Part IV" (footnote 1 above, p. 149), p. 218, note 81.

## ASSESSMENT OF THE RENT

So far as we can tell, the state relied upon the process of bidding in order to arrive at a fair rent. Other organizations employed the same system in some cases but also seem to have used different means of assessment on other occasions.<sup>126</sup> An exception may have been in the case of renewals, when, I have suggested (following Kent),<sup>127</sup> sitting tenants may have been permitted to renew at a fixed rate of ten percent above the previous rent. There is some very slight indication that, if some other means than the high-bid system was employed, the rent was calculated as a fraction of the assessed value of the property, this fraction being based upon the number of years that the lease was to run.<sup>128</sup> The real value and the assessed value might differ: in the case just mentioned, the lessor was prepared to sell the property outright for less than the assessed value (lines 42–44), but we do not know whether this was normal practice.<sup>129</sup>

### THE PROCESS OF LEASING AND THE REGISTRATION OF LEASES OF STATE-OWNED PROPERTIES

The Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* (47.4–48.1) is our main source of information regarding leases granted by the state, apart from the epigraphic sources already discussed:

47.4. εἰσφέρει δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς μισθώσεις τῶν τεμενῶν, ἀναγράφας ἐν γραμματείοις λελευκωμένοις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τούτων ἡ μὲν μίσθωσις εἰς ἑτὴ δέκα, καταβάλλεται δ' ἐπὶ τῆς [θ] πρυτανείας· διὸ καὶ πλείστα χρήματα ἐπὶ ταύτης συλλέγεται τῆς πρυτανείας. εἰσφέρεται μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν τὰ γραμματεῖα κατὰ τὰς καταβολὰς ἀναγεγραμμένα, τηρεῖ δ' ὁ δημόσιος· ὅταν δ' ἡ χρημάτων καταβολή, παραδίδωσι τοῖς ἀποδέκταις αὐτὰ ταῦτα καθελ[ων] ἀπ[ὸ τῶν] ἐπιστυλίων ὧν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ δεῖ τὰ χρήματα καταβληθῆναι καὶ ἀπαλειφθῆναι· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἀπόκειται χωρὶς ἵνα μὴ προεξαλειφθῇ. 48.1. Εἰσὶ δ' ἀποδέκταις δέκα, κεκληρωμένοι κατὰ φυλάς· οὗτοι δὲ παραλαμβάνοντες τὰ γραμματεῖα, ἀπαλείφουσι τὰ καταβαλλόμενα χρήματα ἐναντίον τῆς βουλῆς ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, καὶ πάλιν ἀποδιδόασιν τὰ γραμματεῖα τῷ δημοσίῳ· κἄν τις ἐλλίπη καταβολήν, ἐνταῦθ' ἐγγέγραπται, καὶ διπλάσιον ἀνάγκη τὸ ἐλλειφθὲν καταβάλλειν ἢ δεδέσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰσπράττειν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ δῆσαι κυρία κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐστίν.

*Oxford Classical Text*

“The [Archon] Basileus places [before the Boule] the leases of temene, listed upon whitened boards. The lease of these is also for ten years, and the installments are paid in the [ninth] prytany of each year, so that in this prytany the largest sum of revenues is collected. The records of the installments are then placed before the Boule; after this, the public slave has charge of them. Whenever installments become due, this man takes down from the shelves and gives to the Apodektai those on which the money is to be paid and the debt cancelled on that day. The rest are kept separately so that they may not be cancelled [until the debts are paid]. There are ten Apodektai, one chosen by lot from each phyle. These men take the records and cancel those upon which payment has been made, in the presence of the Boule in the Bouleuterion; they then give back the records to the public slave. If a man has failed to pay the installment due, his name remains upon the record, and he must pay double the amount in arrears or be imprisoned: the Boule has full powers under the laws to exact the money in such cases, or to imprison [the debtor].”

From the epigraphic documents already cited, we see that the poletai also were involved in this process, at least on two occasions in the later 5th century<sup>130</sup> and in the 330's B.C. (L7), and I have argued that the system followed as early as the 430's was essentially the same as that outlined in the *Athenaion Politeia*.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>126</sup> See footnote 119 above, p. 165. On occasion, these other organizations seem to have favored their own members, to the extent, sometimes, of charging artificially low rents in return for what were, in effect, liturgical services.

<sup>127</sup> See p. 165 above and note 120.

<sup>128</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1241 (footnote 80 above, p. 161).

<sup>129</sup> On the value of land in Attica, see Lewis (footnote 1 above, p. 149), pp. 194–197 and Andreyev (footnote 1 above, p. 149), pp. 15–18. Osborne (“Social and Economic Implications,” p. 185 and note 21) assumes that “rents are unlikely, on the basis of the instances we do possess, to have varied very much on either side of 8%” of the assessed value.

<sup>130</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84 (footnote 26 above, p. 154).

<sup>131</sup> See above, pp. 149–151.

Registration of the leases was, in Aristotle's time at least, by the process discussed above. The records were kept on whitened boards, with the names of the tenants and the amounts and dates of the installments in such a manner that individual installments could be marked as paid and the debt canceled on the due date each year. One imagines some sort of dated filing system.<sup>132</sup>

In addition to the individual records kept on the whitened boards in the care of the public slave, there were also the bulk records that were inscribed on stone;<sup>133</sup> these may have been set up near the office of the Archon Basileus, the Stoa Basileios.<sup>134</sup> Why it was felt necessary to inscribe these bulk records, we do not know: Langdon suggests that the records of mine leases issued by the poletai between the 360's and the end of the 4th century were inscribed on stone in order to make them more accessible than were the individual records in the office of the public slave; they might also have served as "the official accounts by which the poletai underwent their *εἴθυνα*,"<sup>135</sup> although it is more likely that the whitened boards kept by the public slave were used for this purpose. The lease records start later than the mine records, and it is probable that their inscription on stone was done for reasons similar to those that motivated the inscription of the mine leases<sup>136</sup> and in imitation of them.<sup>137</sup>

## HOROI OR OTHER EVIDENCE OF TITLE TO LEASEHOLD PROPERTIES

The basic feature of a lease contract is that the lessor retains title to the property, even if the lease is a perpetual one: failure on the part of the tenant to carry out the conditions of the lease may result in his eviction from the property and its reversion to the lessor.<sup>138</sup>

Properties subject to private lease contracts, mortgages, conditional sales, hypothecations, and so forth were protected by means of horoi,<sup>139</sup> and it is reasonable to assume that leasehold properties owned by the state or by other public bodies were similarly protected, either by means of horoi or by the erection of stelai upon which were inscribed the terms of the lease contracts or of the enabling decrees. There are, however, few surviving examples of such documents.

The earliest case of an enabling decree or lease contract serving as a horos is that of 418/17 B.C.<sup>140</sup> The temenos that was to be leased out was first surveyed and its boundaries marked by horoi, set up by the

<sup>132</sup> See Posner (footnote 15 above, p. 153), chap. 3, pp. 91–117, esp. 101–102 and 112–114.

<sup>133</sup> L2; L6; L9–L12, and L14–L15; also *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1590 a (footnote 53 above, p. 158).

<sup>134</sup> See Walbank, "Part IV" (footnote 1 above, p. 149), p. 226 and note 119.

<sup>135</sup> See footnote 27 above, p. 61.

<sup>136</sup> The 5th-century records are probably a different case, reflecting exceptional circumstances rather than normal practice.

<sup>137</sup> It is possible that the religious character of the lease records and the diversity of the actual owners of the properties described provided an extra incentive for their inscription and the erection of the stelai by the Stoa Basileios, since the Archon Basileus was the officer of the state most closely concerned with religious affairs. On the motives for inscribing archival material on stone, see Posner (footnote 15 above, p. 153), pp. 97–101. On the place of erection of these stelai, see footnote 134 above. Professor H. A. Thompson remarks (*per ep.*): "Since some of your stelai, I suppose, may have been of the multiple variety set edge to edge, you may just possibly have a claim on the sill for such a series that was re-used at some late date in the south foundation of the north porch of the Stoa Basileios: *Hesperia* XL, 1971, p. 251, n. 18. The excavators have been inclined to associate this sill with the marble stelai bearing the revised version of the Laws of Solon, and that indeed may be so. On the other hand all the fragments of those stelai found in ancient contexts have come to light around the SW corner of the Agora, none near the Stoa Basileios. Hence I suspect those stelai may have been set up as soon as ready in or near the Bouleuterion, or may have been moved from the Stoa Basileios to the Bouleuterion at some later date. The Basileus apparently kept near his office only those documents that he had to consult constantly e.g. the revised version of Drakon on homicide and your own leases."

<sup>138</sup> What happened to lessors when the property of their tenants was confiscated by the state? *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 426 (P1, p. 70 above), lines 100–105, contains a reference to two leases that were canceled: *μισθώσεις καὶδε κ[ατ]εβλήθησαν τῶν ἀσεβειάντων περὶ τὸ θεῶ|Φαίδρο τῷ Πυθο[κλέος] Μυρρινοσί|Π Δ ο[ικίας μ]ίσθοσις κατεβλήθη|[γῆς Μυρρ]ινῶντι μίσθοσις| ΗΗΗΠ [κατεβλή]θε. Who the grantors of these leases were we do not know, nor whether the state took them over and leased them out again or merely returned them to their original owners.*

<sup>139</sup> See Fine, *passim*; Finley, pp. 4–6, 10–27, 177–181; Lalonde, pp. 18–21 above; and *Attische Pachturkunden*, pp. 52–53. Properties that were mortgaged or otherwise encumbered were identified as such by means of horoi that carried a summary of the terms of the mortgages or other encumbrances. These horoi were set up on or in front of the properties in order to make clear to all that title was not entirely in the hands of the property holder. (Modern practice is to register such encumbrances in the land-registry office.)

<sup>140</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84 (footnote 26 and 90 above, pp. 154 and 162). See Lalonde, p. 6 above.

horistai (line 7). The Archon Basileus, after the lease was granted, was instructed to have the names of the tenant and of his guarantors written up (on the wall of the temenos?) *κατὰ τὸν νόμον* (lines 24–25); this phrase implies that there was a law governing such matters and that it included provision for the publication of such information as the names of the tenant and his guarantors and the amount of the rent.<sup>141</sup> The decree itself was also to be inscribed upon a stone stele to be set up in the Neleion *παρὰ τὰ ἱκρία* (lines 26–28). The property was thus trebly protected, perhaps because of the unusual length of the lease.

In 352/1 B.C. the Sacred Orgas of the Eleusinian Gods was surveyed and provided with new horoi to replace old ones that had fallen down (lines 7–10 and 74–75).<sup>142</sup> Lines 24–30 of this decree are concerned with the possibility of leasing out the Sacred Orgas, for which, in the event of a lease being granted, the horoi would serve as primary evidence of title, as in the case of the temenos of Neleus and Basile just discussed.

Land seized by Athens overseas or in foreign territory, such as that in Euboea in the 5th century<sup>143</sup> or on Lemnos in the 390's or 380's, was probably protected for the state in a similar fashion. In the case of Lemnos, we hear of lands classified as *ἀφορίσματα*, that is, marked off by horoi: these may be sacred temene and not necessarily leased out.<sup>144</sup>

Leases granted by other political or religious organizations were quite often inscribed upon stone stelai to be erected on the site of the leasehold properties, thus serving, in effect, as horoi and evidence of title.<sup>145</sup>

An unusual reversal of this practice is seen in the case of the rights-of-way leased in perpetuity to the deme of Acharnai for the construction of an aqueduct.<sup>146</sup> The properties on which the rights-of-way were leased were marked by horoi on which were inscribed the terms of these leases. Since the leases were granted in return for a one-time payment and were in perpetuity, they were not really leases at all but outright sales. The deme protected its rights by means of these horoi, and title, in effect, passed to it rather than remaining with the lessors. A somewhat similar arrangement is envisaged in the contract by which the phratry of the Dyaleis offered its tenant an option to purchase the property that he leased from it:<sup>147</sup> if he exercised his option, and abided by the other conditions of the lease, he would be granted a *συνβόλαιον*, a document by which title was transferred to him (line 51). This document might well have been similar in form to the horoi by which the deme of Acharnai marked its title to the rights-of-way for its aqueduct, and it might have been set up on the property in question.

### LEASING OF PUBLIC LANDS DURING THE ROMAN ERA

The system of public leasing that has been discussed here may have continued in force even after the constitutional changes of 103/2 and the incursion of Sulla in 86 B.C., but evidence for it is extremely sparse.

A document of Augustan date, *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1035,<sup>148</sup> is concerned with the repair and restoration of sanctuaries throughout Attica. The Hoplite General is instructed to deal with this project (line 7) and to have a record made (lines 18–20) of all leases of the temene belonging to these sanctuaries and of the properties owned by the state. Culley, following Oliver, links a *iussus Augusti* of 27 B.C. with this decree.<sup>149</sup> By this order, public and sacred properties that had been usurped by private individuals were ordered to be restored to the individual city-states; the Athenians seem to have responded to this order relatively late.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>141</sup> See footnote 26 above, p. 154.

<sup>142</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 204; see above, p. 156. See Lalonde, p. 6 above.

<sup>143</sup> *L2* (lines 18–19); see also footnote 24 above, p. 154.

<sup>144</sup> *L3*; but see also *SEG III*, 117 (303/2 B.C.), which indicates that at least one temenos on the island belonged to the phyle of Antiochis and that disputes had arisen over its dimensions, whether as a result of leasing or of encroachments by other property owners we do not know.

<sup>145</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1168? (footnote 77 above, p. 160), 1241 (footnote 80 above, p. 161), 1361? (footnote 49 above, p. 158), 2496 (footnote 48 above, p. 158), 2499 (footnote 70 above, p. 160), 2501 (footnote 71 above, p. 160); and *SEG XXIV*, 203? (above, p. 158).

<sup>146</sup> Footnote 57 above, p. 158.

<sup>147</sup> Footnote 80 above, p. 161.

<sup>148</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>*, 1035 has been dated by Culley (footnote 87 above, p. 161) to ca. 10/09–3/2 B.C.

<sup>149</sup> Culley, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

<sup>150</sup> Culley, *op. cit.*, p. 223, note 40.

At about the same time as the promulgation of *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1035, Athens recovered through the generosity of Julius Nikanor the island of Salamis, which it had lost around the time of Sulla. Sacred properties on Salamis are among those specifically mentioned in *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1035 (lines 31–39).<sup>151</sup>

Thus, early in the Imperial era, at least, the Athenian state was still involved in the leasing of sacred temene and other public properties, and although the records were confused, there was still a substantial number of such leasehold properties available in Attica and on Salamis.

At what point the state ceased to concern itself with such matters we do not know; nor do we know anything at all about the property of other public, semipublic, or religious bodies during the Roman era. As in the case of earlier records, the absence of any epigraphic evidence may be merely an accident of preservation, or, more likely, a consequence of the availability in antiquity of other materials for such record keeping.

<sup>151</sup> For the recovery of Salamis and the decree honoring Julius Nikanor, see footnote 88 above, p. 162.



# CATALOGUE

## DECREE OF THE STATE: LEASES OF STATE PROPERTY

**L1.** Two non-joining fragments of micaceous Pentelic marble, found at different times and places in the excavations of the Athenian Agora.

*a:* Fragment (I 3611) found on February 26, 1936, in the foundations of a house east of the Panathenaic Way and north of the Eleusinion (T 18). It is broken all around, but the smooth-dressed, flat back is preserved.

H. 0.375 m.; W. 0.20 m.; Th. 0.143 m.

*b:* Fragment (I 4829) found on April 28, 1937, in a modern context east of the Panathenaic Way and in front of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (O 8). The left side is preserved.

H. 0.067 m.; W. 0.069 m.; Th. 0.036 m.; L.H. 0.010 m. (both fragments); stoichedon, with an almost square checker pattern, 0.016 × 0.0165 m.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 14, 1945, pp. 85–86, no. 4, with photographs of both fragments; *SEG* X, 26; *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 44; A. G. Woodhead, *Agora* XVI. See also *Attische Pachturkunden*, p. 55, no. 5 (summary without text).

ca. a. 450–444 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

*a*

[----- . . . . ]ε[ . ]καλ[-----]  
 [----- . . κ]αθάπερ Εὐα[-----]  
 [----- . γρ]άμματα [ . ]γγ[-----]  
 [----- μίς]θοσιν ἐ εὐθ[ύνεσθο -----]  
 5 [----- . . . . ]είο· χρό[ν]ο[s ἄρχει -----]  
 [----- . . . . ]τὰ χρέματα [-----]  
 [----- . . . . ]γῆς· τὸ δὲ σ[-----]  
 [----- . . . . ]ς hέος ἂν Ἀθ[εν -----]  
 [----- . . . . ]τοῖς ἐμ πόλ[ει -----]  
 10 [----- . . . . ]τῷ χορ[ί]ο; χσυ[-----]  
 [----- . . . . ]ιν hοι νομῆ[ς -----]  
 [----- . . . . ]με]δὲ hέν τὸν ε[-----]  
 [----- . . . . ]δρ]αχμὰ[s ἐ]ς ε[-----]  
 [----- . . . . ]ε ἀποδ[-----]  
 15 [----- . . . . ]εχσ[-----]  
 [----- . . . . ]ι[-----]

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*b*

[ . . ]νh[-----]  
 [ . . ]αιε[-----]  
 [ . . ]οδε[-----]  
 20 [ . . . ]ι[-----]

*lacuna*

Line 4 [μίς]θοσιν Meritt. Line 12 *IG* I<sup>3</sup>; δὲ hέντρον ἐ[---] Meritt.

Line 4 [μίσ]θοσιν Meritt. Line 12 *IG* I<sup>3</sup>; δὲ ἔντων ἐ[---] Meritt.

The precise relationship between fragments *a* and *b* cannot be established. If Meritt's suggested restoration of line 2, [τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κ]αθάπερ, is correct, line 1 will contain the end of what is itself an amendment to a decree (of the state?), and the original document will have been of considerable length. For line 4, cf. *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 84, line 10; 243, line 102; 244A, lines 6–7, etc. For line 5, cf. *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 402, lines 14, 16, 21; *SEG* XXIV, 203, line 27, etc.; another possibility is [τῆς μισθόσεως]. Meritt suggested, by analogy with *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 32, line 12, that line 9 refers to the Commissioners of public works upon the Akropolis (οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμ πόλει ἔργοις). Line 12 gives either a new clause (Meritt) or the second part of a prohibition (*IG* I<sup>3</sup>). Line 14 might perhaps be restored with ἀποδ[έκτας]; cf. *Ath. Pol.* 47.4.

#### LEASE RECORD: LEASES OF SACRED TEMENE IN EUBOIA. CLERUCHY?

**L2.** Two non-joining fragments of micaceous Pentelic marble, found at different times and places.

*a*: Fragment (E.M. 6752) found in excavations on the west slope of the Akropolis and first published in 1877. The upper part of the stele is preserved, below a crowning molding and flat top; the flat, rough-picked back is also preserved.

H. 0.22 m.; W. 0.40 m.; Th. at top 0.114 m., at bottom 0.09 m. (projection of crowning molding 0.02 m.).

*b*: Fragment (I 4068) found on April 21, 1936 in a modern context above the South Stoa (M 15). The left side and rough-picked back are preserved. The text is inset 0.04 m. from the left edge.

H. 0.27 m.; W. 0.09 m.; Th. 0.09–0.095 m.; L.H. fragment *a*, line 1, 0.008–0.010 m.; fragment *a*, line 2, 0.015 m.; fragment *a*, lines 3ff. and fragment *b*, 0.008 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0095 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0125 m.

Ed. *a*: *IG* I, Supplement, p. 36, no. 279 a; *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 376; see also W. Bannier, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 36, 1916, col. 1072; U. Kahrstedt, *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Göttingen 1931, pp. 161–168 and *Staatsgebiet und Staatsangehörige in Athen*, Stuttgart 1934, p. 32; *b*: A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 12, 1943, pp. 28–33, no. 6, with photographs of squeezes of both fragments; *SEG* X, 304; *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 418. See also G. Erxleben, *Klio* 57, 1975, pp. 83–84, 87–88, and 91 and *Attische Pachturkunden*, p. 61, no. 7 (summary without text).

ca. a. 430–410 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 50?

*a*            [Θ]            ε            ο            [ι]

[. . . . 5.]s τεμένε

[ἐν Χαλκί]δι παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ἀθελναιῶς προσ[τοῖον? ----- ca. 15 -----]

[. . . . hi]ππέος || γύαι φσιλῆς πλέθρα [----- ca. 22 -----]

5    [. . . . 5.]εὔσι ΠΔΔΔΔ    vacat

[ἐν Ἐσ]τιαῖαι Ὀροβίασι Παναιτι[----- ca. 25 -----]

[. . . 4.]| ἐλαῖαι, φσιλῆ ΔΔ γειτ[----- ca. 28 -----]

[. . . 4.]|χοροι                            vacat

[ἐν Ἐρε]τρῖαι Αἰγαλ[. . . 5.]||[----- ca. 29 -----]

lacuna

lacuna

*b*            10    ἐμ Π[ ----- ]

             ἐν Χα[λκίδι ----- ]

             ἐλαιο[ν ----- ]

             γείτο[ν ----- ]

             ἐν Ἐρε[τρῖαι ----- ]

             15    γείτο[ν ----- ]

             ἐλαί[α]ι? ----- ]

             χορίο[ν? ----- ]

             χρομε[ ----- ]

             παρὰ τ[ ----- ]

             20    γείτο[ν ----- ]

             ενανδ[ ----- ]

ἐν Χαλ[κίδι -----]  
 πλέθρ[α -----]  
*vacat*  
*vacat*  
 ἐμ Π[ -----]  
 25 πρ[ -----]  
*lacuna*

Line 9 Αἰγαλ[ῆθεν] Raubitschek. Lines 10, 24 ἐμ Π[σοιδεῖοι?] Raubitschek.

Raubitschek conjectured, from the spacing of the invocation of line 1, that the stele had space for lines of *ca.* 50 letters below the heading of line 2. Line 2 must name the deity to whom these properties belonged: the space available, of course, permits the restoration [Ἀθυναῶ]s, but, if Raubitschek is correct, there may have been a round letter before the final sigma of this name; in light of the spelling of Athena's name in line 4, too, such a restoration should be rejected. For line 9 see also W. Wallace, "The Demes of Eretria," *Hesperia* 16, 1947, p. 133. In line 21, Raubitschek put forward, but rejected, the reading ἐν Ἀνδ[ροί]. For the context, cf. Aelian, *Varia Historia* 6.1 (= *Agora* III, no. 4, p. 21). The relative thicknesses of the two fragments indicate that the gap between them was very small, perhaps, at most, five or six lines.

#### DECREE OF THE STATE: LEASES OF CONFISCATED PROPERTY ON LEMNOS. CLERUCHY

L3. Five non-joining fragments of Pentelic marble, found at different times and places.

a: Fragment (E.M. 6916) found in 1849 on the Akropolis, west of the Parthenon. The flat, stipple-dressed top is preserved.

H. 0.46 m.; W. 0.28 m.; Th. 0.15 m.

b: Fragment (E.M. 6904) found before 1877 on the Akropolis. It is broken all around and at the back. The back was reworked to a smooth, flat surface, after the stele was broken up.

H. 0.215 m.; W. 0.20 m.; Th. 0.145 m.

c: Fragment (E.M. 6905) found before 1877 on the Akropolis. It is broken all around and at the back.

H. 0.132 m.; W. 0.154 m.; Th. 0.088 m.

d: Fragment (E.M. 12964) found on May 6, 1938, in late fill on the north slope of the Akropolis. The top is preserved.

H. 0.192 m.; W. 0.087 m.; Th. 0.05 m.

e: Fragment (I 5588) found on October 15, 1938, in the wall of a modern house southwest of the Eleusinion, on the west side of the Panathenaic Way (R 20). It is broken all around and at the back.

H. 0.192 m.; W. 0.188 m.; Th. 0.153 m.

Letter height on all fragments 0.007–0.008 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.0126–0.013 m. The horizontal spacing is a little greater in line 1 than in succeeding lines.

Ed. a: K. S. Pittakys, Ἐφ' Ἀρχ 34, 1853, pp. 855–856, no. 1375; a, b, c: *IG* II, 14; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 30; S. Luria, *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS*, 1924, pp. 130–133; *SEG* III, 73; d: R. S. Stroud, *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 162–173, no. 23; a, b, c, e: B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 37, 1968, pp. 266–267, no. 2, photograph pl. 77; *SEG* XXV, 63; a, b, c, d, e: Stroud, photographs of all five fragments pl. 30; A. G. Woodhead, *Agora* XVI. See also *Attische Pachturkunden*, pp. 51–52, no. 2 (summary without text) and V. P. Yailenko, *Греческая Колонизация* 7–8, *BB.Δο.Η.* 3, 1982, pp. 206–216 (*non vidi*).

a. 387/6 a.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 95–100?

a + d [ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ· Θεόδωτος ἦρχε· -----] *is*  
           ἐπρυτάνευεν· [·] ρι[. *ca.* 5] ἔγρα[μμάτευν·] [--- ἐπεστάτει· -----]  
 [εἶπεν· εὐξασθαι μὲν τὸν κήρυκα αὐτίκα μάλα . . . *ca.* 9] ι καὶ τοῖ[s]  
           δώδεκα θεοῖς, ἐ[ὰν . . . *ca.* 8] συνενείκηι [-----]  
 [----- θυσίαν καὶ πρόσοδον ποιήσ[ε]σθαι καθότι ἂν  
           τῶι [δ]ήμ[ῳ] δοκῇ· ταῦτα μὲν ἡϋχ[θαι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ -----]

- [----- δεδ]όχθαι τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς τὸς [κλη-  
 ρόχος τὸς ο]ἰκόντας ἐν [Λήμῳι-----]  
 5 [----- ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνα ἄρ]χοντος ἐν Λήμῳι  
 ἐγένετο[ο. . . ca. 9-10 . . .] τοῖς τὰς αὐτ[-----]  
 [----- ἐὰν δέ τις---?--- παρ]ὰ ταῦτα ἢ φαίνῃ ἢ ἀπάγῃ ἢ  
 [. . . ca. 10 . . .] ἀπογραφῇ[ν-----]  
 [----- δημ]ευθῇ τῆς νῦν ἀπογεγραμμέ[νης γῆς ca. 4]  
 τα ἐγ Λήμῳι-----]  
 [-----] ἐκτείσωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης [πρυ-  
 τανείας . . .] πεν ἐπι[-----]  
 [-----] αν τὸν ἐσιόντα ἐνιαυτὸν κα[. . .  
 . . . ca. 13 . . .] θων[-----]  
 10 [-----] ] βολῆς εἴτε τρεῖς κατὰ τὸ δ  
 [. . . ca. 13 . . .] ο[-----]  
 [----- παρ]ὰ τῷ Θησείῳ ἐν ἡτινι  
 ἂν ἡμέ[ραι-----]  
 [-----] ι πεντακοσιομεδίμνων  
 του[-----]  
 [-----] αι τοῖς κληρόχοις τά  
 τε ἐκτείσ[ματα-----]  
 [-----] ις τῶν οἰκίων τῶν δεδημε[υ-  
 μένων-----]  
 15 [-----] ἐ]γ Λήμνο εἰσάγοσιν ὀπό-  
 σοι ἂν [-----]  
 [-----] τ]ῷ δημοσίῳ ὀπόσοι ἂν  
 μὴ ἐκτ[είσωσι-----]  
 [-----] ων ὀπόσῃ δ' αὐτοὶ  
 ἡργάζον[το-----]  
 [-----] τ]ὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰ ἀφορίσ-  
 ματα ἐσ[-----]  
 [-----] τῆς αὐτῇ ἡ  
 μίσθωσις πέπρατ[αι-----]  
 20 [-----] τοῖς κλη]ρόχοις ἢ ἐν-  
 οφέλεσθαί τις κ[-----]  
 [-----] ὀφέλ]οντες τῷ  
 δημοσίῳ εἶχον ἐπ[-----]  
 [-----] τ]ῶν κληρόχων τὰ  
 μὲν ἄλλα [-----]  
 [-----] ] ἀμφισβητῶν τῆς  
 γῆς ἢ τῆς [-----]  
 [-----] δ]ίκαις, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ  
 λάχῃ δις [-----]  
 25 [-----] ] ἡ δίκη τήν τε ἀνά-  
 κρισιν π[-----]  
 [-----] ων ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον  
 παρὰ [-----]  
 [-----] ἀμφι]σ[β]ητῶν ἕνα λόγον  
 πρὶ[-----]

*lacuna*

*b*

[-----]ιν[-----]  
 [-----]στησ]άτω ἐν ἀκροπό[λει-----]  
 30 [-----]ολων καὶ μὴ ἐξῆνα[ι-----]  
 [-----]μήτε-----]ναὶ μήτε μισθῶσαι πλὴν [-----]  
 [-----]ῶ]νος μηνὸς τῷ μετὰ Θεό[δοτον ἄρχοντα-----]  
 [-----] γῆν τὸς κληρόχος καὶ[-----]  
 [-----]καθάπ]ερ τοῖς ἐς Σαλαμ[ῖνα-----]  
 35 [-----]ἀφικ]νομένων ἐ[-----]  
 [-----] [ . ] [ . ] √□ [-----]  
*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*c*

[-----]Λ σ[-----]  
 [-----]ηται ὁ α[-----]  
 [-----]νόματ]α πατρόθεν [-----]  
 40 [-----]α ἐγ Λήμνο ἐς [-----]  
 [-----]λὴν μηδενὶ μη[-----]  
 [-----]η τῶν κληρ[όχων-----]  
 [-----]ιον ὅπο[-----]  
 [-----]σι καὶ τ[-----]  
 45 [-----]ιτ[-----]  
*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*e*

[-----]ι[ε[ . . ]ια[-----]  
 [-----]ἀ]ποδόσθαι τὸς κληρ[όχος-----]  
 [-----]ν οἰκῆσων ἐς Λήμ[νον-----]  
 [-----]ἐ]ὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ὁ α[-----]  
 50 [-----]ν οἰκῶσι ἐν Λήμ[νῳ-----]  
 [-----]ν τοῖς ἐν Λήμ[νῳ-----]  
 [-----]σιάσαντες [-----]  
 [-----]σῃ ο[-----]  
*lacuna*

Fragment *a* + *d* Stroud; *b* *IG* II, 14; *c* *IG* II, 14; *e* Meritt.

The text and its arrangement are those set out by Stroud. The line length is *ca.* 95–100, according to Stroud: this invalidates earlier restorations of fragments *b* and *c* made by Luria with a line of *ca.* 70–75, and I do not therefore cite Luria's restorations in the following list except where they may be useful for an understanding of the text.

Line 2: Yailenko restores [ἱερέα] instead of [κήρυκα]. Stroud suggested [τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ], citing *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 114, line 8. He offered two possibilities for the restoration of the end of the line: ἐ[ὰν Ἀθηναίοις] συνενείκη [τὰ δόξαντα περὶ Λήμνο] or ἐ[ὰν τὰ δόξαντα] συνενείκη [Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ]. Line 4: Kirchner (*ap.* Luria) suggested [ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ δεῖνα εἰσήνεγκαν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν δεδ]όχθαι, citing *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 112, line 13. Line 5: Luria, believing that this line would furnish the date of the decree of confiscation that preceded the decree, restored [ἡ ἀπογραφὴ, ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνα ἄρχ]οντος ἐν Λήμ[ω]ι ἐγένετ[ο]. Kirchner (*ap.* Luria) restored the archon's name: [ἐπὶ Εὐβολίδῳ ἄρχ]οντος. Line 6: Stroud allowed space after ἐὰν δέ τις for the possible insertion of the formula ἡ ἄρχων ἡ ιδιώτης. He tentatively restored ἡ ἀπάγη ἡ [εἴπη] ὡς δεῖ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν [λύειν or καταλῦσαι]. Line 7 (*fin.*): [ἄτιμον εἶναι] Luria. Line 12: [πλὴν ἱππέων κα] Luria. Line 22: [ὁ δεῖνα εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν λέγουσι οἱ ἥκοντες παρὰ τ]ῶν κληρόχων, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα [καθάπερ τῇ βολῇ] Luria. Line 23: τῇ[ς οἰκίας] Stroud. Line 26: Stroud noted the possible indication of an interval of time, e.g., [τριάκοντα ἡμερ]ῶν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον. Line 30: [ἐργάζεσθαι ἄνευ δ]όλων Luria. Line 39: Stroud's text is followed; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> restored [ὄνομ]α. Line 47: κλήρ[ος] Yailenko. Line 52: [στα]σιάσαντες Yailenko.

Luria (pp. 132–133; see also *Kadmos* 3, 1964, pp. 100–107) attempted to restore fragments *b* and *c* by analogy with *IG I<sup>3</sup>*, 1. Although his restorations involve too short a line, it is possible that these two fragments do, in fact, belong side by side at the same level on the stele, although probably more widely separated than in Luria's restorations: thus, provisions for the inscription of the names of the cleruchs by patronymic and ethnic (*c*, line 39) on a stone stele (*b*, line 28: [ἐν στήλῃ λιθ]ῖν[ηι]?) to be set up on the Akropolis (of Athens? *b*, line 29) would be followed perhaps by a rider or by a new clause setting forth the duties of the cleruchs and their relationship with their holdings. The position of fragment *e* on the stele, therefore, may be below that of fragments *b* and *c*.

## SETTLEMENT OF A DISPUTE BETWEEN THE SALAMINIOI OF THE HEPTAPHYLAI AND THE SALAMINIOI FROM SOUNION

### OWNERSHIP OF LEASEHOLDINGS AND DISPOSITION OF RENTS

**L4 a.** A complete pedimental stele of Pentelic marble (I 3244), found on January 30, 1936, on Kolonos Agoraios, south of the Hephaisteion (C 9:16). It had been placed as a cover for an abandoned Hellenistic cistern when the Roman well cut through it was filled in, in the late 1st century after Christ. The back is rough picked.

H. 1.33 m.; W. at top 0.43 m., at bottom 0.49 m.; Th. 0.12 m.; L.H. line 1, 0.010 m.; lines 2–79, 0.006 m.; lines 80–97, 0.005–0.006 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern averaging 0.011 × 0.011 m. (lines 2–79). Lines 80–85 are non-stoichedon, with horizontal spacing between letters averaging 0.001–0.002 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0088 m.

Ed. W. S. Ferguson, *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 1–68, no. 1, photograph p. 2; F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément*, Paris 1962, no. 19, pp. 49–54; *SEG XXI*, 527. See also D. D. Feaver, *Yale Classical Studies* 15, 1957, pp. 128–130; E. C. Kakavoyiannis, *Δελτ* 32, 1977 A' [1982], pp. 206–217; *SEG XXXI*, 121; and *Attische Pachturkunden*, p. 90, no. 34 (summary without text).

a. 363/2 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 38 (lines 1–79)

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 80–85 (lines 80–97)

- Θ            ε            ο            ί
- Ἐπὶ Χαρικλειδ' υἱ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίους· ἐπὶ τοῖς[δ]-  
ε διήλλαξαν οἱ διαιτηταὶ Σαλαμινίος τὸς ἐς τῶ-  
ν Ἑπταφυλῶν καὶ Σαλαμινίος τοὺς ἀπὸ Σονίου ὁμο-  
5 λογοῦντας ἀλλήλοις καλῶς ἔχειν ἃ ἔγνωσαν οἱ δι-  
αιτηταὶ Στέφανος Μυρρινόσιος, Κλεαγόρας Ἀχα-  
ρνεύς, Ἀριστογείτων Μυρρινόσιος, Εὐθύκριτος  
Λαμπρεύς, Κηφισόδοτος Αἰθαλίδης· τὰς ἱερεωσ-  
ύνας κοινὰς εἶναι ἀμφοτέρων εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόν-  
10 ον τῆς Ἀθηνάας τῆς Σκιράδος, καὶ τὴν τῷ Ἡρακλέο-  
ς τῷ ἐπὶ Πορθμῷ, καὶ τὴν τῷ Εὐρυσάκος, καὶ τὴν τῆς  
Ἀγλαύρο καὶ Πανδρόσο καὶ τῆς Κοροτρόφο· καὶ κ-  
ληρῶσθαι κοινῇ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπειδὴν τελευτ-  
ῆσαι τις τῶν ἱερείων ἢ τῶν ἱερέων· τὸς δὲ λανχάν-  
15 οντας ἱερεῶσθαι ἐφ' οἷσπερ καὶ οἱ πρότερον ἱε-  
ρῶντο· τὴν δὲ γῆν τὴν ἐφ' Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐπὶ Πορθμ-  
ῳ καὶ τὴν ἀλ[λ]ήν καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐν Κοίλῃ νε-  
ίμασθαι διχαστὴν ἑκατέρως, καὶ ὅρος στήσαι τῆς  
ἑαυτῶν ἑκατέρος· θύειν δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἡ-  
20 ρωσι κατὰ τάδε· ὅσα μὲν ἡ πόλις παρέχει ἐκ τοῦ δημ-  
οσίου ἢ παρὰ τῶν ὠ[σ]κοφόρων ἢ παρὰ τῶν δειπνοφόρ-  
ων γίγνεται λαμβάνειν Σαλαμινίοις, ταῦτα μὲν  
κοινῇ ἀμφοτέρως θύοντας νέμεσθαι τὰ κρέα ὦμ-  
ὰ τὰ ἡμίσεια ἑκατέρος· ὅσα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μισθώσεως ἔ-  
25 θνουν Σαλαμίνιοι παρὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν θύειν κατὰ τὰ  
πάτρια, τὸ ἥμισυ ἑκατέρος συμβαλλομένος εἰς ἅ-  
παντα τὰ ἱερά· τοῖς δὲ ἱερεῦσι καὶ ταῖς ἱερείαι-

- 30 *ς ἀποδιδόναι τὰ γέρα τὰ γεγραμμένα· τῷ δὲ τῷ Ἡρακλέος ἱερεῖ ἱερεώσυνα ΔΔΔ δραχμάς· εἰς πελαν-  
 31 *δον δὲ ΗΗ δραχμάς· τούτων τὸ ἥμισυ ἑκατέρως συμ-  
 βάλλεσθαι· τῶν δὲ ἱερείων ὧν ἂν κατάρξῃται τῶν  
 κοινῶν λαμβάνειν δαρτὸ δέρμα καὶ τὸ σκέλος, εὖ-  
 στοτὸ τὸ σκέλος· βοὸς δὲ ἐννέα σάρκας καὶ τὸ δέρμα·  
 32 *τῷ δὲ τῷ Εὐρυσάκος ἱερεῖ ἱερεώσυνα ΓΓ δραχμά-  
 33 *ς· εἰς πελανὸν ἀμφοτέρωσιν ΓΓ δραχμάς· σκέλος κ-  
 αὶ δέρματος ἐν Εὐρυστακείῳ ΔΗΗ δραχμάς· τούτ-  
 34 *ων τὸ ἥμισυ ἑκατέρως συμβάλλεσθαι· τῷ ἥρῳ τῷ-  
 ι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλῇ τῶν θυομένων λαμβάνειν τὸ δέρμα  
 καὶ τὸ σκέλος· νέμειν δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ ταῖς ἱ-  
 35 *ερεαῖς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὅπο ἂν ἕκαστοι ἱερεῶντ-  
 36 *αι μερίδα παρ' ἑκατέρων· τὸς ἄρτος ἐς Σκιράδος ν-  
 έμειν κατὰ τὰδε, ἀφελόντας ἐξ ἀπάντων τὸς νομι-  
 37 *ζομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια· κήρυκι ἄρ-  
 38 *τον, Ἀθηναῖς ἱερεῖαι ἄρτον, Ἡρακλέος ἱερεῖ ἄρτο-  
 39 *ν, Πανδρόσο καὶ Ἀγλαύρο ἱερεῖαι ἄρτον, Κοροτρό-  
 40 *φο καὶ καλαθηφόρῳ ἄρτον, κώπαις ἄρτον· τῶν δὲ ἄ-  
 41 *λλων νέμεσθαι τὰ ἡμίσεια ἑκατέρως· ἄρχοντα δὲ κ-  
 42 *ληρὸν ἐμ μέρει παρ' ἑκατέρων ὅστις καταστήσει  
 43 *τὸς ὠσκοφόρος καὶ τὰς δειπνοφόρος μετὰ τῆς ἱε-  
 44 *ρείας καὶ τῷ κήρυκος κατὰ τὰ πάτρια· ταῦτα δὲ ἀν-  
 45 *αγράψαι ἐς στήλην κοινῇ ἀμφοτέρως καὶ στήσα-  
 46 *ι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς τῆς Σκιράδος· τὸν δὲ αὐ-  
 47 *τὸν ἱερέα εἶναι τῷ Εὐρυσάκει καὶ τῷ ἥρῳ τῷ  
 48 *ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλῇ· ἐὰν δὲ τι δέη ἐπισκευεῖσθαι τῶν ἱε-  
 49 *ρῶν, ἐπισκευάζειν κοινῇ συμβαλλ(λ)ομένος τὸ ἥμ-  
 50 *ισυ ἑκατέρως· ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδῳ ἄρχοντος οἱ ἐκ τῶ-  
 51 *ν Ἑπταφυλῶν παρέσχον ἄρχοντα· τὰ δὲ γραμματεῖ-  
 52 *α κοινὰ εἶναι ἀ[μφο]τέρων ἅπαντα· τὴν δὲ γῆν ἐργά-  
 53 *ζεσθαι τὸν μεμ[ισ]θωμένον ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθῃ ὁ χρόν-  
 54 *ος ὃν ἐμισθώσατο, ἀποδιδόντα τὴν ἡμίσειαν μίσ-  
 55 *θωσιν ἑκατέροις· τὸ δὲ πρόθυμα τὸ ἀμίλλο ἐμ μέρ-  
 56 *ει ἑκατέρως κατάρχεσθαι· τῶν δὲ κρεῶν τὰ ἡμίσει-  
 57 *α ἑκατέρως λαμβάνειν καὶ τῶν δερμάτων· τὴν δὲ ἱ-  
 58 *ερεωσύνην τὸ κήρυκος εἶναι Θρασυκλέος κατὰ τ-  
 59 *ὰ πάτρια· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐνκλημάτων ἀπάντων ἄφε-  
 60 *ῖσθαι τῶν τε ἰδί(ω)ν καὶ τῶν κοινῶν εἰς τὸν ὕ Βοηδ-  
 61 *ρομῶνα μῆνα τὸν ἐπὶ Χαρικλείδῳ ἄρχοντος. <sup>uv</sup>  
 vacat  
 62 *Ἐπὶ Διφίλῳ Διοπείθους Σουνιέως Σαλαμινίους ἄρχ-  
 63 *οντος οἶδε ὥμοσαν Σαλαμινίων τῶν ἀπὸ Σουνίου· Διο-  
 64 *πείθης Φασυρκίδο, Φιλόνεως Ἀμεινονίκου, Χαλκιδ-  
 65 *εὺς Ἀνδρομένους, Χαριάδης Χαρικλέος, Θεῦ φάνης  
 66 *Ζωφάνους, Ἡγίας Ἡγησίου, Ἀμεινίας Φιλίνο. Ἐπὶ Ἀν-  
 67 *τισθένους Ἀντιγένους Ἀχαρνέως ἄρχοντος Σαλαμι-  
 68 *νίοις, οἶδε ὥμοσαν ἐκ τῶν Ἑπταφυλῶν· Θρασυκλῆς Θρά-  
 69 *σωνος Βουτά, Στρατοφῶν Στράτωνος Ἀγρυ, Μελίττιος  
 70 *Ἐξηκεστίδου Βουτά, Ἀρίσταρχος Δημοκλέους Ἀχαρ, <sup>v</sup>  
 71 *Ἀρκέων Εὐμηλίδου Ἀχαρ, Χαιρέστρατος Πανκλείδῳ Ἐ-  
 72 *πικηφί, Δήμων Δημαρέτο Ἀγρυλῇ. <sup>vacat</sup>  
 73 *Ἀρχέλεως εἶπεν· ὅπως Σαλαμῖνιοι τὰ ἱερὰ θύωσι αἰεὶ  
 74 *τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ***

- γίγνητα[ι] ἐφ' οἷς διήλλαξαν οἱ διαλλακταὶ ἀμφοτέρους καὶ οἱ  
 αἰρεθέντες ὥμοσαν, ἐψηφίσθαι Σαλαμινί-  
 οῖς τὸν ἄρχοντα Ἀρίσταρχον ἐγγράψαι τὰς θυσίας ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς  
 τιμὰς τῶν ἱερέων εἰς τὴν στήλην ἐν εἰ  
 αἱ διαλλαγαὶ εἰσιν, ὅπως ἂν οἱ ἄρχοντες αἰεὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων εἰδῶσι  
 ὃ τι δεῖ ἀργύριον συνβάλλεσθαι εἰς τὰ[s]  
 θυσίας ἀπάσας ἑκατέρους ἀπὸ τῆς μισθώσεως τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐφ'  
 Ἑρακλείω, καὶ στήσαι τὴν στήλην ἐν τῷ  
 85 Εὐρυσακείω. Μουνιχιῶνος. ἐπὶ Πορθμῶν· Κουροτρόφω αἶγα Δ,  
 Ἰολέω οἶν ὀλόκαντον ΔΓ· Ἀλκμήνῃ οἶν  
 ΔΗ, Μαίαι οἶν ΔΗ, Ἑρακλεῖ βοῦν ΔΔ, ἥρωι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλῇ οἶν ΔΓ,  
 ἥρωι ἐπ' Ἀντισάροι χοῖρον ΗΗΙΙ, ἥρωι Ἐπι-  
 πυργιδίω χοῖρον ΗΗΙΙ, Ἰων(ι) οἶν θύειν ἐναλλάξ παρ' ἔτος·  
 ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ οἷς ἡ πόλις δίδωσιν ἐκ κύρβεω[ν]  
 Δ. ὀγδόει ἐπὶ δέκα Εὐρυσάκ[ει]: ὕν: ΔΔΔΔ· ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖ[s] καὶ εἰς  
 τᾶλλα ΗΗ. Ἑκατονβαιῶνος. Παναθηναίοις Ἀθηνᾶι  
 ὕν: ΔΔΔΔ· ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς κ[αὶ εἰ]ς τᾶλλα ΗΗ. Μεταγειτνιῶνος.  
 ἐβδόμῃ Ἀπόλλωνι Πατρῷω ὕν: ΔΔΔΔ, Λητοῖ χοῖρο[ν]  
 90 [Η]ΗΙΙ, Ἀρτέμιδι χοῖρον ΗΗΙΙ, Ἀθηνᾶι Ἀγελᾶι χοῖρον ΗΗΙΙ·  
 ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ εἰς τᾶλλα ΗΗΙΙ. Βοηδρομιῶνος. Ποσει-  
 δῶνι Ἱπποδρομίω ὕν: ΔΔΔΔ, ἥρωι Φαίαι χοῖρ(ο)ν ΗΗΙΙ, ἥρωι  
 Τεύκρωι χοῖρον ΗΗΙΙ, ἥρωι Ναυσείρωι χοῖρον Η[ΗΙΙ]·  
 ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ τᾶλλα ΗΗ. Πυανοψιῶνος, ἔκτει Θησεῖ ὕν ΔΔΔΔ·  
 εἰς τᾶλλα ΗΗ. Ἀπατουρίοις Διὶ Φρατρῷω ὕν ΔΔΔΔ·  
 ξύλα ἐφ' ἱεροῖς καὶ τᾶλλα ΗΗ. Μαιμακτηριῶνος. Ἀθηνᾶι Σκιράδι οἶν  
 ἐνκύμονα ΔΗ, Σκίρωι οἶν ΔΓ· ξύλα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν Η[Η].  
 κεφάλαιον οὗ δεῖ ἀναλίσκειν ἀμφοτέρος ἐς ἅπαντα τὰ ἱερά ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ.  
 ταῦτα θύειν κοινῇ ἀπὸ τῆς μισθώσεως τῆς γῆς τῇ(ς) ἐφ' Ἑρακλ[είωι]  
 95 [ἐπὶ] Σονίῳ, ἀργύριον συμβαλλομένους ἑκατέρους ἐς ἅπαντα τὰ ἱερά·  
 ἔαν δέ τις εἴπει ἢ ἄρχων ἐπιψηφίσαι τούτων τι καταλ[ύ]-  
 [σ]ται ἢ τρέψει ποι ἄλλοσε τὸ ἀργύριον, ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι τῷ γένει  
 ἅπαντι καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἰδία ὑπό-  
 δικον καὶ τῷ βουλομένω Σαλαμινίων. *vacat*

Lines 86–87 A. Wilhelm, *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 220.5, 1942, p. 136; ἐπὶ Πυργιλίω Ferguson. Line 90 *med.*, Sokolowski; ἀγελᾶι Ferguson.

For lines 29 and 35, *πελανός*, cf. *SEG* XVIII, 278.

With this should be taken another stele, of about a century later, found in the same place:

**L4 b.** A stele of Hymettian marble (I 3394), found on February 15, 1936, in the same area as **L4 a**, in the tunnel of a Roman water channel.

H. 0.77 m.; W. at top 0.25 m., at bottom 0.31 m.; Th. at top 0.07 m., at bottom 0.085 m.; L.H. 0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.009 m. and a vertical checker of 0.012 m.; lines 41–44 are non-stoichedon. Because of the marked tapering of the stele, line lengths increase steadily towards the bottom.

Ed. W. S. Ferguson, *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 9–12, 69–74, no. 2, photograph p. 11; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 75–76. See also *Agora* III, no. 254; B. D. Meritt, *Historia* 26, 1977, p. 176; S. V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 57, 1988, p. 305; M. J. Osborne, *ZPE* 78, 1989, pp. 229–230.

ca. a. 265/4 (vel 251/0?) a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχη. ἐπὶ Φανομάχου ἄρχ-  
 οντος. Μουνιχιῶνος· Ἑρακλείοις.

ἐπὶ τοῖσδε διελύσαντο τὰ γένη π-  
 ρὸς ἄλληλα, τό τε Σουινέων καὶ τὸ

5 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξ Ἑπταφυλῶν, ὑπὸ τῶν αἰρε-



- θέντων διαλυτῶν, ὃ Ἀντιγένου Ση-  
μαχίδου καὶ Καλλιτέλου Σουνιέως,  
ἐφ' ὧτε τοῦ μὲν Ἑρακλέος τοῦ τεμέ-  
νους ἄνετομ μὲν εἶναι ὡς οἱ βωμοὶ κ-  
10 αὶ τὸ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ἱκρίου ὡς αἱ ἐλ-  
αὶ αἱ πρῶται. ὃ τὸ δ' ἄλλο τέμενος ὡ-  
ρίσθαι βορρῶθεμ μὲν ὡς ἡ αἵμασιὰ  
ἡ πρώτη, ὃ ἡλίου δὲ ἀνέχοντος ὡς οἱ  
ὄροι κείνται οἱ ὀρίζοντες τὰ χωρ-  
15 ία, ὃ δυομένου δὲ ὡς οἱ ἐμβατῆρες ὃ  
οἱ τε πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ ὃ ἄνω κ-  
είμενος, καὶ εἶναι κοινὸν τοῦτο τὸ  
τέμενος τῶν γένων ἀμφοτέρων. ὃ ἄλ-  
ω δὲ κατασκευάσαι Σαλαμινίους τοῦ-  
20 ς ἀπὸ Σουνίου τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀναλώμασ-  
ιν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῷ κοινῷ τὸ αὐτ-  
ὸ μέγεθος τεῖ αὐτῶν, καὶ εἶναι ταύ-  
την τὴν ἄλω Σαλαμινίων τῶν ἐξ Ἑπτα-  
φυλῶν, ὃ τὴν δ' οἰκίαν τῇ μὲν ὁμοροῦ-  
25 σαν τῷ τεμένει εἶναι ἀρχαίῳ Σαλαμ-  
ινίων τῶν ἐξ Ἑπταφυλῶν ὡς αἱ θύραι  
αἱ φέρουσιν ἀμφοτέραι αἱ ἀπὸ θαλάτ-  
της καὶ ὡς οἱ ὄροι ὀρίζουσιν εἰς ὄρ[θ]-  
ὸν οἱ τῶν χωρίων. ὃ τὴν δ' ἐτέραν οἰκί-  
30 αν τῇ πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνατολᾶς εἶναι ἀ-  
ρχαίῳ Σαλαμινίων τῶν ἀπὸ Σουνίου ὡ-  
ς αἱ θύραι αἱ φέρουσιν αἱ ἀπὸ θαλάτ-  
της καὶ ὡς οἱ ὄροι ὀρίζουσιν εἰς ὄρθον  
οἱ τῶν χωρίων. ὃ εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς κήπ-  
35 ους καὶ τοῦ φρέατος τὸ ἥμισυ ἐκατέρ-  
ου τοῦ γένους, ὃ τὴν δὲ ἄλῃν καὶ τὴν ἀγ-  
ορὰν τὴν ἐν Κοίλει κοινὴν εἶναι ἀμφο-  
τέρων τῶν γένων, ὃ τῶν δὲ χωρίων τὰ μέ-  
ν πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνατολᾶς εἶναι ἀρχαίῳ  
40 Σαλαμινίων τῶν ἀπὸ Σουνίου ὡς οἱ ὄρ-  
οι κείνται. ὃ τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμᾶς ε-  
ἶναι ἀρχαίῳ Σαλαμινίων τῶν ἐξ Ἑπτα-  
φυλῶν ὡς οἱ ὄροι κείνται, καὶ τὴν ἱερὰ-  
ν ἄρουραν. *vacat*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. 30

29

30

## DECREE OF THE DEME OF ACHARNAI? LEASE(S) OF DEME PROPERTY

L5 (Pl. 14). Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 4349), said to have been found by Argyri Marini in the fields at Kamatero (southwest of Menidi) and brought to the Agora on September 25, 1936. The left side and back are preserved.

H. 0.259 m.; H. 0.128 m.; Th. 0.084 m.; L.H. 0.006 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.011 × 0.011 m.

Unpublished.

ante med. saec. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

ισ[ -----μ]-  
ισθ[ -----ἐψη]-  
φίσι[θαι? -----]

Ἰσ[---]Αχα[ρν?] ----- τὰ χω]-  
 5 ρία[-----]  
 α ἔτ[η -----]  
 ων[-----]  
 ρν[-----]  
 μω[-----]  
 10 ητ[-----]  
 ιθο[-----]  
 τον[-----]  
 ντα[-----]  
 των[-----]  
 15 εατ[-----]  
 ις φι[-----]  
 ερας[-----] τῇ]-  
 σ μισ[θώσεως? -----]  
 υς δὲ ε[-----]  
 20 τῶν χωρ[ίων -----] τ]-  
 ἣν μίσθ[ωσιν -----]-  
 οισεπικ[-----]  
 Αἴσχωνο[s -----]  
 οἰκία θυλ[-----]

*lacuna*

Line 1: Perhaps Ἰσ[---]εἰπεν]. Lines 1–2: [μ]ισθ[οῦσαν], [μ]ισθ[ῶσαι], or [ἐμ]ίσθ[ωσαν] might be restored; cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2492, line 1; 2493, line 3; 2496, line 2; 2497, line 1; 2498, line 2; 2499, line 2; and *SEG* XXIV, 151, line 8. Lines 2–3: For the possible [ἐψη]φίσ[θαι], cf. *SEG* XXIV, 151, lines 7–8. Line 4: Instead, perhaps part of a man's name. Lines 4–5: Cf. line 20, τῶν χωρ[ίων]. Line 5: [δέκ]α (or [τετταράκοντ]α) ἔτ[η] *numeral* δραχμ[ῶν] might be restored; cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2492, lines 18–19. Lines 7–8: Perhaps ἸΑχα[ρν]---]; cf. line 4. Line 9: Perhaps [δραχμ]ῶν]. It is possible that a second lease record begins here. Lines 17–18: For the possible [χρόνος] ἄρχει τῇ]ς μισ[θώσεως], cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2492, lines 18–19; *SEG* XXIV, 203, lines 27–28, etc. Line 19: For the possible restoration [το]ὺς δὲ ἐ[πὶ κ---], cf. line 22, [τ]οῖς ἐπὶ κ[---]. Lines 20–21: Perhaps [ἀποδιδόναι δὲ τ]ῇν μίσθ[ωσιν τοῦ --- ὧνος μηνός]; cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2490, line 1; 2497, lines 12–14; *SEG* XXIV, 151, lines 29–31; 203, lines 9–11. Line 22: I refrain from restoring a word such as ἐπικλητοί (cf. Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 353; Ephesos). The kappa of this word in line 22 is undoubted, unless it is a mistake for a mu, from a word such as ἐπιμεληταί, which seems much more likely in an Attic context.

If the findspot is correctly described in the Agora Inventory, this document is likely, as indeed line 4 suggests also, to be a decree of the deme of Acharnai, since Menidi lies within the boundaries of the ancient deme of Acharnai (see Traill, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, p. 50 and Map 1, for the site). The date is provided by the letter forms, which are suitable to the middle or second quarter of the 4th century. Thus, the document may in some way be connected with the series of leases of land to the deme Acharnai for the right-of-way of an aqueduct (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2491; 2502; *SEG* XXIX, 181; 182; see Vanderpool (footnote 57 above, p. 158), all dated around, if not shortly after, the middle of the 4th century B.C.

#### LEASE RECORD: LEASES OF SACRED PROPERTIES

**L6.** Six non-joining fragments of dark gray Hymettian marble, deriving from a single stele but found at different times and places.

*a:* Fragment (E.M. 280) found in 1909 on the north side of the Agora, near the Church of St. Philip, in a modern house wall. The flat, stipple-dressed top, stipple-dressed left side, and flat, smooth back are preserved.

H. 0.26 m.; W. 0.27 m.; Th. 0.118–0.121 m.; L.H. line 1, 0.01 m., lines 2–3, 0.009 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0167 m. and a vertical checker of 0.015 m.

*b:* Fragment (E.M. 8014) of unknown provenience. It is broken all around, but the flat, smooth back is preserved.

H. 0.276 m.; W. 0.288 m.; Th. 0.119–0.121 m.

c: Fragment (I 7062) found on September 10, 1969, in the basement of a modern house south of the Church of St. Philip (L–M 5–6). The stipple-dressed right side and flat, smooth back are preserved.

H. 0.314 m.; W. 0.223 m.; Th. at left 0.119 m., at right 0.121 m.

d: Fragment (I 7123) found on May 16, 1970, in the wall of a modern bothros southeast of the Church of St. Philip (O 6). It is broken all around, but the flat, smooth back is preserved.

H. 0.156 m.; W. 0.232 m.; Th. at left 0.119 m., at right 0.121 m.

e: Fragment (I 7117) found in May, 1970, in a modern context southeast of the Church of St. Philip (O 6). It is broken all around, but the flat, smooth back is preserved.

H. 0.28 m.; W. 0.598 m.; Th. 0.12–0.121 m.

f: Fragment (I 4133) found on May 6, 1936, in a modern wall southeast of the Church of St. Philip (P 7). It is broken all around, but the flat, smooth back is preserved.

H. 0.264 m.; W. 0.28 m.; Th. 0.12–0.121 m.

L.H. fragment *a*, lines 4ff. and fragments *b–f*, 0.005 m.; stichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0101 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0098 m.

Ed. *a*: J. Sundwall, *AM* 34, 1909, pp. 63–65, no. 2; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1590; Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques: Supplément*, Bruxelles 1912, no. 1536; *b*: S. A. Koumanoudis, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἑλληνικαὶ ἀνακαλυφθεῖσαι καὶ ἐκδοθεῖσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Συλλόγου Ἀθηνῶν* I, Athens 1860, no. 21; *IG* II, 851; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1591; *c*, *d*, *e*: M. B. Walbank, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 100–135 (with *a*, *b*, and *f*); *f*: M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 454–456, no. 5 (with *a* and *b*); *SEG* XXXIII, 167; XXXV, 124. Photographs: *a*, lines 1–13, J. Kirchner and G. Klaffenbach, *Imagines inscriptionum atticarum*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1948, pl. 60; *f*: Crosby, p. 454; all fragments: Walbank, pls. 30–32. See also Wilhelm, “Attische Pachturkunden,” pp. 189–217; M. B. Walbank, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 207–231; and *Attische Pachturkunden*, pp. 62–63, nos. 10 and 11 (summaries of *a* and *b–f* without text).

*a*. 343/2 *a*.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 65

*a* Θεοί  
 Ἐπὶ Πυθοδότου [ἄρχοντος ----- *ca.* 45 -----]  
 [Ἀ]θηνᾶς Πολιάδος ----- *ca.* 51 -----]

Col. I

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

[ἐ]ν Κυδαθηναίῳ τῶν ΑΛΕ[. .]Λ[. . .<sup>5</sup> . . . ο]-  
 5 [ἰ]κία πρώτη ἐξ ἀγορᾶς προ[. . . , μισθω:]  
 [Ἀ]ρισταγόρας Ἀριστοδήμου[. . .<sup>7</sup> . . .]  
 [ἐ]ν Κυδαθηναίῳ οἰκῶν: [. . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . .]  
 [ἐ]γγυ: Μοίριππος Μοιραγ[ἐ]νους [Κυδα]-  
 [θ]η: δευτέρα οἰκία, μισθω: Πολέμων Δ]-  
 10 [ι]οκλέους Φλυε: Η[Π]ΔΔΓ: ἐγγυ: Ἀρ[χ]εδ[η]-  
 [η]μος Ἀρχεδήμου] Ἀῦρι: τρι[τ]η οἰκ[ία, μ]-  
 [ι]σθω: Αὐτομένης Ἀνδρο[μ]ένους Ε[. . .]  
 [Η]ΠΔΗΗ: ἐγγυ: Θεόδωρος Κίρων[ος Π]-  
 [ρ]ασι: τετάρτη οἰκία, μισθω: Κη[φισό]-  
 15 [δ]ωρος Σμικύθου Κυδαθη: ΗΔΔΔ[. . . ἐγ]-  
 [γυ:] Λεοντεὺς Ἀντικλείδου Κ[. . .<sup>5</sup> . . . :]  
 [πέμ]πτη οἰκία, μισθω[: ] Λάχης[. . .<sup>7</sup> . . . :]-  
 [. . .]δου Ῥαμνο: ΗΔΔΓ: ἐγγυ[η]: Χαριά]-  
 [δ]ης? Χ]αιροκλέους Λευκο[νο: ἔκτη οἰκ]-  
 20 [ία, μ]ισθω: Λυκέας Λυ[. . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . . .]: ἐγγυη: Δ[. . . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . .]ς οἰκία [. . . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . .]μ[ι]σθω: [. . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . . . .]

*lacuna* (ca. 2–3 lines)

b

Col. I

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

*lacuna*

[.....<sup>24</sup>..... Σο]υνι?  
 25 [.....<sup>26</sup>.....]ιοι  
 [.....<sup>26</sup>.....]οιω  
 [.....<sup>24</sup>..... Μ]ενέξ-  
 [ενος?.....<sup>19</sup>..... Λυ?]σικρ-  
 [.....<sup>23</sup>..... μισ]θωτ-  
 30 [.....<sup>28</sup>.....]γ-  
*lacuna* (ca. 38 lines)

e

Col. I

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

*lacuna*

[.....<sup>27</sup>.....]κι  
 [.....<sup>25</sup>.....]ρικλ-  
 [.....<sup>22</sup>.....]ς Χαριάδ-  
 [ο Λευκονο?: ἐγγυ:.....<sup>8</sup>.....]άτης Νικ-  
 35 [.....<sup>17</sup>..... τ]έμενος Θρίαι  
 [.....<sup>13</sup>.....: Μο]σχίων? Εὐφραμίδο-  
 [υ.....<sup>11</sup>.....: ἐγγυ]: Κριτόδημος Α-  
 [.....<sup>12</sup>..... τέμεν]ος Θρίαι ΤΑΣΤΕ-  
 [.....<sup>17</sup>..... χ]ωρίς τῆς ἐσχα-  
 40 [τιᾶς, μισθω:.....<sup>8</sup>.....]τος Τιμοκράτ-  
 [ους?.....<sup>10</sup>.....: ἐγγυ]: Διονυσόδωρ-  
 [ος.....<sup>17</sup>..... ἐ]σχατιὰ<ν> ὑπ-  
 [.....<sup>23</sup>.....]κ[.], μισθ-  
 [ω:.....<sup>27</sup>.....]  
*lacuna* (ca. 5-6 lines)

f

Col. I (or II)

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

*lacuna*

45 [.....<sup>24</sup>.....]λεγι[.]  
 [.....<sup>23</sup>.....] ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 [.....<sup>14</sup>....., μισθω: Διο]νυσόδω-  
 [ρος.....<sup>21</sup>.....]ᾤΔΔΔΔ<:>  
 [ἐγγυ:.....<sup>18</sup>..... ο]ν Κηφι-  
 50 [.....<sup>24</sup>.....], μισθω<:>  
 [.....<sup>24</sup>.....]:ᾤΔΔΔΔ<:>  
 [ἐγγυ:.....<sup>20</sup>.....]δον Π-  
 [.....<sup>26</sup>.....]μον  
 [.....<sup>27</sup>.....]ΔΔ  
 55 [.....<sup>28</sup>.....]π  
 [.....<sup>28</sup>.....]ς  
 [.....<sup>27</sup>.....]ωρ-  
 [.....<sup>28</sup>.....]κι  
 [.....<sup>26</sup>.....]ᾤλω  
 60 [.....<sup>28</sup>.....]ι  
 [.....<sup>28</sup>.....]ι  
 [.....<sup>28</sup>.....]ν  
*lacuna*

b

Col. II

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

*lacuna*

- σ[.....<sup>27</sup>..... 'Α]-  
 γνού[.....<sup>6</sup>..... ἐγγυ: Χαρινάυτης Χα]-  
 65 ιρίωνος Φαλη: Λ[.....<sup>14</sup>..... τέ]-  
 μενος ἐν Ἑρμει, μι[σθω:.....<sup>11</sup>.....]-  
 οδήμου Εὐω: ΗΗΗ: ἐ[γγυ:.....<sup>10</sup>.....]  
 Λυσιδή[μον] Κεφαλ: κήπο[ι ἐν Ἀγραις ἐ]-  
 φ' Ἰλισ[ῶι, μι]σθω: Φορμί[ων.....<sup>7</sup>..... Φα]-  
 70 λη: ΗΗΗ[Η<sup>Π</sup>]: ἐγγυ: Πολ[.....<sup>12</sup>.....]-  
 [.]νο[υ] Κ[.]: οἰκία Ἀλωπ[εκῆσι, μισθω: Π]-  
 [υα]νέψι[ος? .]ι[.]λιαμπ[.....<sup>13</sup>.....]  
 [..... κ]λ[έο]υς Ε[.....<sup>18</sup>.....]

*lacuna* (ca. 3–4 lines)

d

Col. (I or) II

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

*lacuna*

- [.....<sup>14</sup>..... Δι]ὸς Ὀλυμπίου οἰ-  
 75 [κία.....<sup>8</sup>.....], μισθ[.]: Ἐργόφιλος Φίλω-  
 [νος.....<sup>8</sup>.....]υλῆσι οἰκ: Η<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΓ: ἐγ-  
 [γυ:.....<sup>7</sup>.....]ατος Δημέου Χολαρ[<] Διὸς  
 [Ὀλυμπίου οἰ]κία παρὰ τὸ Διονύσιον, μ-  
 [ισθω:.....<sup>5</sup>.....]ος Πυθοδώρου Ἐπικ: Η<sup>Π</sup>Δ-  
 80 [.: ἐγγυ: Πυθό]δωρος Φιλοκλέους Ἐπι-  
 [κηφ?: Διὸς Ὀλυ]μπίου πρώτη οἰκ[ί]α, μισ-  
 [θω:.....<sup>9</sup>.....]ης Λυσίου Ἀμαξ: ΔΔΔ[.]  
 [.....<sup>13</sup>.....]ιτο[ς Α]ὐτολύκου Π[. .]  
 [δευτέρα οἰκία?.....<sup>7</sup>.....]ον[.]ας [.....<sup>5</sup>.....]  
 85 [.....<sup>20</sup>.....]ῆτ: [ἐγγυ:]

*lacuna* (ca. 2–3 lines)

e

Col. II

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

*lacuna*

- [.....<sup>24</sup>.....]λ[.....]  
 [.....<sup>24</sup>.....]μα[.....]  
 [.....<sup>17</sup>....., μισθω:] Εὐμη[. .]-  
 [.....<sup>9</sup>..... ο]υ Εὐω: <sup>Π</sup>ΔΔΔ[. .]ῆτ: ἐγγυη[<]  
 90 [.....<sup>12</sup>.....]νίου Συπ[αλ:] Ἀρτέμιδ-  
 [ος Ἀγροτέρας χωρ]ίον κα[ὶ οἰ]κία, μισθ-  
 [ω:] Σώιτο[ς.....<sup>6</sup>.....]ενίδο[υ] Παια: ΗΗΗΗΔ[<]  
 ἐγγυ: Χα[.....<sup>6</sup>..... Γυ]άθωνος Λακ: Ἀρτέ-  
 μιδος Ἀ[γρ]ο[τ]έ[ρας.....]υλῆσι χωρίον, μ-  
 95 ισθω: Λυσ[ίμ]α[χος.....]ικλέους Ἐρχι[ε<]  
 ΗΗΗ<sup>Π</sup>: [ἐγγυ:.....<sup>7</sup>.....]ς Κλεινέτου  
 Ἐρχι: Ἀρτέμι[δο]ς Ἀ[γρο]τέρας οἰκία ἐ-  
 ν Κολλυτῶι παρὰ τὸ [Ἰ]λ[ει]θυεῖον, μισθ[<ω:]  
 Κηφισοφῶν Κεφαλίωνος Ἀφιδνα: <sup>Π</sup>ΗΔ-  
 100 ΔΔΓ: ἐγγυ: Φιλόφρων Φιλοκλέους Π-  
 ειραι: ἐγγυ: Πανσίστρατος Λυσιμά-  
 χου Πειρ: Ἡρακλέους ἐν Κυνοσάργει

- τεμένη, πρῶτον τέμενος, μισθω: Μείδ-  
 υλος Μειδυλίδου Ἀζη: ΗΗΗΠ: ἐγγυη:  
 105 Φίλων Φίλτωνος ἐκ Κοι: δευτέρου τέ-  
 μενος, μισθω: Θεόδοτος Ἀπολλοδώρου  
 [Ο]ἰναῖ: ΠΗΠΔΔΔ: ἐγγυ: Ἀριστίων Ἀρ-  
 [. . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .]: [ἐ]γγυ: Σίλανος Σωσίππ-  
 [ου . . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . . .: τρίτον τέ]μενος, μισθω: Φ-  
 110 [. . . . .<sup>22</sup> . . . . .]: ΗΔΔΠ: ἐγ-  
 [γυ: . . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . .]  
*lacuna* (ca. 2–3 lines)

*f* Col. II (or III) ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

- lacuna*  
 [. . . .]ον[. . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . ., μισθω: Τελεσίας Τ]-  
 [ελ]έστου Προβ[: . . . . .<sup>17</sup> . . . . .]  
 s Νίκωνος Ἀχαρ[υ: . . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . . . .]  
 115 υ χωρίον ἐχόμενος . . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . . ἀριστ?]-  
 εράν, μισθω: Ξεν[. . . . .<sup>16</sup> . . . . .]-  
 s Προβ: ΠΔΔΔΠΗ[. . . . .: ἐγγυ: Ξενοφῶν]  
 Ξενοφώντος Προβ[: οἰκία παρὰ τὴν ὁδ]-  
 ὀν τὴν ἐγ Μεσοκωμῶ[ν εἰς? . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .]  
 120 δας, μισθω: Ἀριστό[δημος Ἀριστοκλέ]-  
 ους Οἰναῖ: ΗΠΠΗ: ἐ[γγυ: Ξενοφῶν Ξε]-  
 νοφώντος Προβ: ἀπὸ τ[οῦ βωμοῦ? βαδίσ]-  
 οντι τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀστ[ικὴν ἐχόμενος?]  
 ἐν ἀριστερ[ᾶ]ι τὸν βωμ[ὸν γύης?, μισθω:]  
 125 Ναυ[σ]ῶ[ς? Νικοστράτο[υ . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . .]  
 ἐγγυ: Νικόστρατος Ν[. . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . . ἐχ]-  
 ὀμενος τούτου τὴν αὐ[. . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . . γ]-  
 ὕης, μισθω: Κλεότιμ[ος . . . . .<sup>11</sup> . . . . .]  
 ΗΠΗ: ἐγγυ: Χαιρέστ[ρατος . . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . .]  
 130 Σφήτ: κάμψαντι το[. . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . . ἐ]  
 ν δεξιᾶι, μισθω: Ε[. . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . . . .]  
*lacuna*

*c* Col. III ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

- lacuna*  
 [. . . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . . .]νβ[. . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . . μ]ισθω: Ἀπήμων Ἀδε[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>13</sup> . . . . .]ισοτ: ἐμ Πειραιεῖ ο-  
 135 [κῶν: . . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . . .]Η: ἐγγυ: Φίλαγρος Λε-  
 [. . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . . ἐ]κ τοῦ τοίχου ἐν Σαλαμῖν-  
 [ι . . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . . . ὄ?] Καλλικράτης καθιέρωσε-  
 [ν . . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . .] χωρίον, μισθω: Φόρυσκος  
 [. . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . . . ἐν Ἀ]λ[ω] οἰ: ΠΔΔΔΔ: ἐγγυ: Στέφαν-  
 140 [ος . . . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . . .]δου Παια: τέλμα τὸ παρὰ [τ]-  
 [ὸ ἡρώιον τοῦ] Νεανίου ἔξω τείχους ε[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .] εἰς τὸ τέλμα φέρων τὸ δ[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . . ., μισθ]ω: Τιμοκλῆς Τιμοκράτο-  
 [υς . . . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . .]: ἐγγυ: Ἰππένος Κηφισοδ-

- 145 [. <sup>4</sup> . . . Κυδα?: τέμ]ενος Διδος Ὀλυμπίου π-  
 [. . . . . <sup>15</sup> . . . . . σ]κηνη ἤ Εὐβουλο-  
 [s . . . . . <sup>10</sup> . . . . . παραστ]άδιον? τοῦ θεατ-  
 [ροῦ, μισθω: . . . . . <sup>9</sup> . . . . .]s Ἀλεξίου ἐξ Ο-  
 [ῥ: . . . . . <sup>17</sup> . . . . .]τος Χαρίσο[υ]  
 150 [. . . . . <sup>20</sup> . . . . .]πεδιε[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . . <sup>21</sup> . . . . .]ετ[. . . <sup>6</sup> . . .]  
*lacuna* (ca. 5–6 lines)

e

Col. III

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

- lacuna* (ca. 5 lines)  
 θ[. . . . . <sup>28</sup> . . . . .]  
 ἐ[γγυ: . . . . . <sup>21</sup> . . . . .] Ἀρτ]-  
 ἐμι[δος . . . . . <sup>20</sup> . . . . .] ἐγ K]-  
 155 ηφισ[ίαι . . . . . <sup>22</sup> . . . . .],  
 μισθω[. . . . . <sup>20</sup> . . . . .] ἐκ K?]-  
 ολω: ΠΗ[. . . . . <sup>23</sup> . . . . .]  
 μου Ἀλ[α]ι[. . . ? . . . <sup>21</sup> . . . . .]  
 ου Ξυπε[. . . Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυρωνίας? κῆπ]-  
 160 ος Φαληρ[οῖ] ε[. . . . . <sup>19</sup> . . . . .]  
 ξηλ[ω]ι[. . . σ[. . .]α[. . . . . <sup>20</sup> . . . . .]  
 π[. . .]δωι α[. . . . . <sup>23</sup> . . . . .]  
 τος Ἀγν: ΗΗΔ[ΔΔ]Δ[. . . . . <sup>16</sup> . . . . .]-  
 s Ξενοκρίτο[υ] Ἀφ[ιδ]: Ἀρτέμιδος Βραυ-  
 165 ρωνίας ἐμ Φιλα[ιδῶν . . . . . <sup>11</sup> . . . . ., μι]-  
 σθω: Ἀντίμ[α]χο[s . . . . . <sup>16</sup> . . . . .]  
 ΠΗ: ἐγγυ: Κηφ[. . . . . <sup>18</sup> . . . . .]  
 ἐγγ: Φιλιά[δης? . . . . . <sup>13</sup> . . . . .] Ἀρτ]-  
 ἐμιδος Β[ραυρωνίας . . . . . <sup>10</sup> . . . . . οἰκ]-  
 170 ία π[ρώτη? . . . . . <sup>22</sup> . . . . .]  
 αζ[. . . . . <sup>27</sup> . . . . .]  
*lacuna*

Fragments a, b IG II<sup>2</sup>; c, d, e Walbank; f Crosby. Lines 115–116 ἐχομέ[νον . . . . . <sup>12</sup> . . . . .] ἐτ[έραν Crosby. Line 123 ἀστ[ίαν] Crosby. Line 127 λ[ύσιω] Crosby.

Line 2: [τεμένη] Sundwall. Line 3: [τάδε ἐμισθώθη] Sundwall; [καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν] Walbank. Line 4: Walbank; ΑΛΕ[. . . ]Α von Prott (*ap. IG II<sup>2</sup>*); ΑΛΕ[. . . ]Α Sundwall. Line 5: Lewis (*ap. Walbank*) would restore προ[σιό(ντι)] in preference to Wilhelm's προ[οσιο(ῶσιν)] (*ap. IG II<sup>2</sup>*); IG II<sup>2</sup> gives προ[ὸς ἔω]. Lines 9–10: Lewis, *ap. Walbank*. Lines 47–48: A possible restoration is ἀπὸ τοῦ [βωμοῦ]. Lines 57–58: [χ]ωρ[ίον] might be restored. Lines 58–59: [οἰ]κ[ύ]α is possible. Lines 65: The initial letter of the deity's name could be alpha, lambda, or, less likely, delta; Ἀ[πόλλωνος (Δηλίου or Πυθίου)], for example, would fit the available space. Line 71: Κ[ήτ](τιος) is possible. Line 76 (also 94): [Ἀγκ]υλῆσι or [Ἀγρ]υλῆσι Walbank. Line 91: [Μουνιχίας] might also be restored. Line 127: τήν αὐ[τὴν] ὁδὸν Walbank. Lines 135–136: Λέ[ων Ἀλαιεύς?] Walbank. Line 142: δ[ιῶρνγμα] Walbank. Line 147: Also possible are [παρὰ τὸ στ]άδιον and [τὸ Παρ]αλίον. Line 153: [Ἀρτ]έμι[δος Βραυρωνίας] Walbank.

## LAW AND DECREE OF THE STATE

## FUNDING FOR THE LESSER PANATHENAEA.

## LEASE OF TERRITORY CALLED THE NEA (OROPIA?)

L7. Two non-joining fragments of Pentelic marble found at different times and places.

a: Fragment (I 5477) found on May 27, 1938, near the Agora in the vicinity of Evangelistria Street (Judeich,

*Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, Plan 1, squares G 3–4). The flat top is preserved, above a double crowning molding and inscribed fascia.

H. 0.326 m.; W. 0.37 m.; Th. 0.111 m.; L.H. line 1, 0.012 m.; line 2, 0.008–0.009 m.

*b*: Fragment (E.M. 7153) found on the Akropolis by the Propylaia in 1842. The right side and back are preserved.

H. 0.38 m.; W. 0.39 m.; Th. 0.13 m.

L.H. fragment *a*, lines 3ff. and fragment *b*, 0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.0103 × 0.0103 m.

For reasons of economy I print here only fragment *a* and lines 42–51 of fragment *b*. For full description, text, and commentary, see A. G. Woodhead, *Agora* XVI.

Ed. *a*: D. M. Lewis, *Hesperia* 28, 1959, pp. 239–247, photograph pl. 43; *b*: K. S. Pittakys, 'Εφ'Αρχ 28, 1842, p. 605, no. 1064; *IG* II, 163; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 334; Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 271; *a*, *b*: *SEG* XVIII, 13; XXI, 269; XXV, 65; XXXV, 68; H. W. Pleket, *Epigraphica* I, Leiden 1964, no. 25, pp. 38–39; F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969, no. 33, pp. 63–66; C. J. Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander*, Chicago 1985, no. 17, pp. 81–94. See also Robert (footnote 41 above, p. 64), pp. 189–203; *REG* 73, 1960, p. 153, no. 131; F. W. Mitchel, *Greece and Rome* 12 (n.s. 2), 1965, p. 196 and *Lykourgan Athens, 338–322 (Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple, Second Series)*, Cincinnati 1970, pp. 35–36; M. K. Langdon, *Hesperia* 56, 1987, pp. 56–58; and *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 13, pp. 63–67 (summary without text).

*paullo post a. 338/7 a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 42

*a*            [Θ                            ε]                            ο                            [ί]

[ἐπὶ . . . <sup>ca. 9</sup> . . . ᾧ]ρχοντος

[. . . <sup>16</sup> . . .]σ[. . .]· Ἀριστόνικος Ἀρι[στοτέλο]-

[υς Μαραθώνιος εἶπ]εν· τύχηι ἀγαθῇ τοῦ δήμου [τοῦ Ἀθη]-

5 [ναίων, ὅπως ἂν τῇι] Ἀθηναίῃ ἡ θυσία ὡς καλλίστ[η ἦι Πανα]-

[θηναίοις τοῖς μικροῖς καὶ πρόσοδος ὡς πλεί[στη γέν]-

[ηται ἱεροποιο]ῖς, δεδόχθαι τοῖς νομοθέτ[α]ι[s· τὴν μὲν]

[Νέαν μισθούτω]σαν δέκα ἡμέραις πρότερον ν[. . . <sup>7</sup> . . .]

[οἱ πωληταὶ δέκ]α <α> ἔτη κατὰ δικληρίαν τῶι τὸ π[λείστον]

10 [διδόντι τῶι πρ]οτέρωι ἔτει ἢ ἂν ἡ ΔΑ[.]ΑΝΤΙ[. . . <sup>7</sup> . . .]

[. . . <sup>10</sup> . . . μι]σθωταῖς ἐγγυητὰς λαμβάνου[σι· τοὺς δ]-

[ἐ πωλητὰς τῇ]ν πεντηκοστὴν πωλεῖν τὴν ἐν τῇ[ι Νέαι χω]-

[ρὶς τῶν ἄλλω]ν· τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις προγράφει[ν βουλή]ς

[ἔδραν εἰς τῇ]ν μίσθωσιν τῆς Νέας διαρρήδην [καὶ τῆς π]-

15 [εντηκοστῆς] τὴν πρᾶσιν τῆς ἐν τῇι Νέαι χωρὶ[s. . . <sup>6</sup> . . .]

[. . . <sup>6</sup> . . . ἡ πρό]σοδος γένηται δυοῖν ταλάντο[ιν. . . <sup>6</sup> . . .]

[. . . <sup>9</sup> . . . τ]ῶν κτημάτων τῶν ἐν τῇι Νέαι[ι κ[. . . <sup>9</sup> . . .]

[. . . <sup>10</sup> . . .]ρχειν τῇι Ἀθηναίῃ· τοῦτο [. . . <sup>13</sup> . . .]

[. . . <sup>7</sup> . . . Παν]αθηναίων τῶν μικρῶν τ[. . . <sup>9</sup> . . . οἱ δὲ ἀ]-

20 [ποδέκται με]ριζόντων αὐτὸ εἰς ταῦ[τα τοῖς ἱεροποιο]-

[ῖς. . . <sup>9</sup> . . .]ον δ' εἶναι καὶ τὸμ προ[. . . <sup>14</sup> . . .]

[. . . <sup>11</sup> . . .]αι μισθοῦν καθὸ ΤΟ[. . . <sup>16</sup> . . .]

[. . . <sup>11</sup> . . .]ι· τὸν δὲ ταμίαν [. . . <sup>19</sup> . . .]

[. . . <sup>12</sup> . . .]ονταστησ[. . . <sup>20</sup> . . .]

25 [. . . <sup>13</sup> . . .]·<sup>Α</sup>[. . . <sup>28</sup> . . .]

lacuna (2 lines)

*b*

-----

[---- ἀ]πὸ δὲ τῶν τε[τταρ]άκοντα μνῶν καὶ τῆς μι-

[ᾶς τῶν ἐκ τῆς μ]ισθώσεως τῆς Νέας βοωνήσαντες οἱ ἱερ-

[οποιοὶ μετὰ τ]ῶν βοώνων πέμψαντες τὴν πομπὴν τῇι θε-

45 [ῶι θούντων τα]ύτας τὰς βοῦς ἀπάσας ἐπὶ τῶι βωμῶι τῆς



- [Ἀθηνᾶς τῶι με]γάλῳι· μίαν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς Νίκης προκρί-  
 [ναυτες ἐκ τῶν] καλλιστευουσῶν βοῶν καὶ θύσαντες τῇ-  
 [ι Ἀθηνᾶι τῇ] Πολιάδι καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶι τῇ Νίκῃ ἀπασῶ-  
 [ν τῶν βοῶν τῶ]ν ἀπὸ τῶν τετταράκοντα μυνῶν καὶ μιᾶς ἑω-  
 50 [νήμενων νε]μόντων τὰ κρέα τῶι δῆμῳι τῶι Ἀθηναίων ἐν  
 [Κεραμειῳ] καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρεανομίαις--

-----  
*lacuna*

Fragment *a* Lewis. Line 2 [ἄ]ρχοντος ---- Sokolowski. Lines 6–7 ὡς πλεῖ[σθη] ἐγλεχθῇ τοῖς θεοῖς, Sokolowski. Line 8 ν[... οἱ πωληταὶ εἰς δέκ](<α>) ἔτη Sokolowski. Lines 9–10 τῶι τὸ πρόδομα συνθέντι, κτλ.] Sokolowski. Lines 10–11 ἡ ΔΑ[.]ΑΝΤΙ[μισθωθῇ καὶ ἄλλοις μι]σθωταῖς Sokolowski. Lines 13–14 προγράφει[ν ἐν στήλαιν δυοῖν τῇ]ν μίσθωσιν Sokolowski. Lines 15–18 χωρὶς ἐκάστην ὅταν δὲ ἡ πρόσοδος γένηται δυοῖν ταλάντο[ιν].....<sup>13</sup> ἐκ τῶν κτημάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Νέα[ι] κ[αὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὑπάρ]χειν τῇ Ἀθηνᾶι Sokolowski. Lines 18–19 τοῦτο ἀναλῶσαι εἰς τὴν θυσίαν Παν[αθηναίων] Sokolowski. Line 21 [διαλογισμ]ὸν δ' εἶναι καὶ τὸμ προ[τέρων προσόδων] Sokolowski. Line 22 καθότι[ι--] Sokolowski. *b* Dittenberger, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 271.

Line 8: Lewis offered Ν[εμεσίων] “as a remote possibility.” Lines 10–11: ἡ λᾶ[s] ἀντι[μισθωθῇ] Sokolowski. Lines 13–14: Lewis cited as a possible parallel for this restoration *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 244, lines 36–37 and perhaps line 9. Woodward (*ap.* Lewis) offered προγράφει[ν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τὴν μίσθωσιν]. Lines 15–19: Lewis offered as a possibility χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων, ἐὰν δὲ πρό[σοδος γένηται δυοῖν ταλάντο]ιν κατὰ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν κτημάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Νέα[ι] κ[αὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, ὑπάρ]χειν τῇ Ἀθηνᾶι.

The date of this document depends upon the identification of the property known as the Nea (lines 8, 14, 15, 17, 43): Lewis thought that the space available for the name of the archon in line 2 permitted restoration of the name of either Pythodelos (336/5) or Euainetos (335/4), and Robert offered convincing arguments for placing the Nea in the territory of Oropos that was ceded to Athens by Philip II in 338/7 B.C. (Hypereides, 4.16; Pausanias, 1.34.1). Thus, the date of the document is likely to be soon after 338/7 B.C. Langdon has suggested that, in fact, the Nea was a newly risen volcanic island off Lemnos, “Nea” rather than “the Nea”.

### DECREE OF THE PHYLAI OF AIGEIS AND AIANTIS

#### SURVEY OF LAND ALLOTTED TO THE PHYLAI OF AIGEIS AND AIANTIS IN THE OROPIA. LEASES AND RECORDS OF LAND OWNERSHIP IN DISPUTE

**L8.** Complete stele of Pentelic marble (I 6793), found in two pieces on July 4 and 8, 1957, re-used to cover a manhole leading to an underground water channel on the southwest slope of Kolonos Agoraios about 100 meters southwest of the southwest corner of the Hephaisteion (A 11). One small piece is missing from the right side at the break. The description of the stele and its dimensions are adapted from Langdon.

H. 1.65 m.; W. at top, including molding 0.49 m., at top of inscribed face 0.455 m., at bottom 0.485 m.; Th. at top 0.009 m., at bottom 0.10 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.0075 × 0.0075 m.

Ed. M. K. Langdon, *Hesperia* 56, 1987, pp. 47–58, photographs pls. 9, 10; for a preliminary notice, see *Agora* III, p. 225, addendum to p. 92. See also W. Ameling, *ZPE* 77, 1989, pp. 95–96 and A. G. Woodhead, *Agora* XVI.

ca. a. 330 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 57

- Θεοί  
 [.]οιο[.]...[.]...<sup>8</sup>...[.]ρχου[.]...<sup>8</sup>...[.]η[.]...<sup>27</sup>...  
 [.]α[.]ν[.]...<sup>5</sup>...[.]ργα[.]...<sup>34</sup>...[.]δε[...]  
 [δ]όχθαι ται[.]...<sup>8</sup>...[.]...<sup>29</sup>...  
 5 [.]ς λιθινα[.]...<sup>5</sup>...[.]...<sup>35</sup>...  
 [τ]ὸ κεφάλαιον [.]...<sup>5</sup>...[.]...<sup>40</sup>...  
 [.]φυλῶν [.]...<sup>7</sup>...[.]...<sup>6</sup>...<sup>10</sup>...[.]...<sup>18</sup>...  
 α[.]κι[.]...[.]...<sup>39</sup>...  
 οι[.]...<sup>7</sup>...[.]...<sup>8-9</sup>... *vacat*  
 10 [.]...<sup>7</sup>...[.]...<sup>6</sup>...  
 [.]...<sup>7</sup>...[.]...<sup>8</sup>...

- 15 [.]κ[.]λλων[.]ρα[.]α[.]ο[.]<sup>11</sup>ορος[.]αφια[.]<sup>15</sup>  
 [.]ο[.]<sup>5</sup>ιφαλ[.]<sup>7</sup>ν[.]λ[.]ε[.]<sup>7</sup>λλ[.]λλρ[.]<sup>8</sup>ραν[.]ο[.]<sup>7</sup>  
 [.]<sup>6</sup>σταλ[.]<sup>13</sup>η[.]<sup>15</sup>λ[.]<sup>5</sup>ακ[.]<sup>5</sup>ε[.]<sup>5</sup>  
 [.]α[.]<sup>6</sup>ον[.]ο[.]ο[.]<sup>10</sup>οροι[.]ιστο[.]<sup>12</sup>ο[.]ν[.]α[.]  
 [K]αλλικράτης[-----] *vacat*  
 [.]<sup>5</sup>ωνεν[.]<sup>43</sup>οκράτ-  
 [η]ς[.]ο[.]λιτ[.]ο[.]<sup>39</sup>οξεν  
 [.]δ[.]<sup>43</sup>ΗΗΔη[.]ομ[.]  
 20 [.]<sup>8</sup>ποσιαμ[.]<sup>37</sup>λ[.]ο[.]

*54 lines with only scattered letters preserved*

- 75 [ . . . . .<sup>26</sup> . . . . . ] ταις [ . . . . . ] Ἄ[να]φ[λ]υ[σ]τιο. . . . .<sup>13</sup> ]  
[ . . . . . ἔ]φύλωι τόπ[ω]ι. . . . .<sup>7</sup> ] π[ . . . . . ] τ[ . . . . . ] ι[ . . . . . ] ο[ . . . . . ]<sup>23</sup>  
[ . . . . . ] ατεὺς [ . . . . . ] πα[ . . . . . ]<sup>44</sup> . . . . . ]  
[ . . . . . ] εστοσιακμο[ . . . . . ] ιο[ . . . . . ]<sup>12</sup> . . . . . ] αιτ[ . . . . . ]<sup>27</sup> . . . . . ]  
[ . . . . . ] διαβ[α]ς τὸν αὐλῶνα τὸν . . . . . ] ο[ . . . . . ]<sup>12</sup> . . . . . ] τατ[ . . . . . ]<sup>16</sup> . . . . . ]  
80 [ . . . . . ] ι[ . . . . . ] του[ . . . . . ]<sup>48</sup> . . . . . ]  
[ . . . . . ] ε[ . . . . . ] ρκη[ . . . . . ] το[ . . . . . ] η[ . . . . . ]<sup>16</sup> . . . . . ] Ἄν[α]φλυσ[τιο. . . . . ]<sup>14</sup>  
[ . . . . . ] διαβ[α]ς τὸν αὐλῶνα τὸν . . . . . ]<sup>37</sup> . . . . . ]

*7 lines with only scattered letters preserved*

- 90 [. . .]ελ[.]η[.] . . . . . 16 . . . . .]ον[.]ο[.] . . . 7 . . .]ε[.] . . . . . 18 . . . . . ῥ[α]μ[.]νο-  
ύσιος καὶ ἀμφισβητ[.]εῖ[.] . . . 5 . . .]α[.]σο[.] . . .]ε[.] . . .]ω[.] . . . . . 20 . . . . .]ρ[.]  
πάντα τὸν τ[.]όπον[.] . . . 5 . . .]ρατ[.]η[.]αφ[.] . . . 5 . . .]ο[.] . . . . . 23 . . . . .]η[.]  
παπίδος[.]ο[.] . . . . . 13 . . . . .]λ[.] . . . . . 28 . . . . .]ο[.]α[.]  
οντος Εὐρ[.]υ[.] . . . 5 . . .]υ[.] . . .]α[.] . . . 5 . . .]χ[.]ω[.]ρί[.]ον . . . 11 . . .]τ[.] . . .]μ[.] . . . 10 . . .]ἀ-  
95 δης ἔχ[.]ει[.] . . . 6 . . .]μ[.] . . .]ιλ[.]ε[.] . . .]α[.]ο[.]με[.] Λευκοπ[.]ύρ[α] καὶ τὰ [π]ρ[.]ὸς το[.] . . . 5 . . .] ἀπὸ  
τοῦ Ἑρμαίου [τοῦ] Λευκοπυρ[α]ίου. τ[.]ό[π]ος[.]ο[.] . . . 5 . . .]γος ἔφυλο[.]ς . . .]ου[.] . . . 5 . . .  
[.]α[.]τ[.]αι Καλλίστ[ρ]α[.]τος Ἰκ[.]αρι[.]ε[.]ῦ[.]ς[.] Ἀλεξί[.]ας Ὑ[.]βάδης λόφον π[.] . . . 9 . . .]τ[.]  
σελ[.] . . .] καὶ τοῦ[.]του[.] . . . 9 . . .]υ[.]υ[.]ο[.]ω[.]ο[.] . . . . . 24 . . . . .]  
ενον καὶ τὰς [.]τη[.]η[.] . . .]η[.]λ[.]υτο[.] . . . . . 29 . . . . .]των [ῆ]-  
100 νφ[.]εσβήτ[.]ε[.] Φ[.]ε[.]ρεκράτ[.]η[.]ς[.] Κολ[.]λ[.]υ[.]τεῦ[.]ς[.] πρὸς [.] . . . 12 . . .]χ[.] . . . 12 . . . . .]  
ου[.] . . . 7 . . .]έως [.]ι[.]υ[.] . . . 7 . . .]νη ὕλη[.] . . .]οσ[.] . . . 8 . . .]ε[.]τα[.] . . . 12 . . . . .]  
ενα τῶν Φ[.]ε[.]ρεκράτου[.]ς[.] τόπ[.]ος[.] πολ[.]ύς[.] ἔφυλος ἀργὸς μέ[χ]ρι τ[.] . . . 5 . . .]ο[.] . . . 7 . . .]  
ων ἔστιν καὶ οὐκ ἠνφ[.]ε[.]σβήτ[.]ει οὐδ[.]είς[.] . . .] ὑλῶν[.]ης. π[ρ]ὸς τῷ λόφ[.]ωι π[ρ]οσκα[.]-  
τ[.]ε[.]ίργαστα[.] καὶ ἕτερα ἐ[χ]όμ[.]ενα τούτων, ὑπερβάντ[.]ι . . . . . 17 . . . . .]  
105 σιν παρε[λ]θόντι τὸν λόφ[.]ον οἱ αὐτοί. ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφ[.]ο[.]υ[.] . . .]θηπ[.] . . .]εφ[.] . . . 9 . . . . .]  
τῶν Προξένου[.] ἐρ[.]γ[α]σίμων τούτου ὧν φύ[.]λ[.]ων ἔτ[.]ερα ἐ[.]ργάσιμα πολλὰ . . . 6 . . . . .]  
υ[.]η[.]τα καὶ [πεφ]υ[.]τευμένα[.] . . . 8 . . .]μ[.] . . . 5 . . .]αι ἐδ[.]αφ[.]ος καὶ οἰκίαν[.] . . . 8 . . . . .]  
τα[.]υ[.]τα ἔφη μεμισθῶσθ[.]αι Χα[.]ρί[.]ας Κ[.]ο[λ]λ[.]υ[.]τεῦς[.] . . . . . 20 . . . . .]χαρ[.]  
ἀδρ[.]α[.] . . .]ων[.] . . .]ο[.] . . .]ειτ[.] . . .]ο[.]τόθεν Πρόξενος[.] . . . . . 19 . . . . .]  
110 [π]ρὸς νότον[.] . . .]ων πρὸς ἐσπέρα[.]ν οιορανοί[.]αι[.] . . .]ενο[.] . . .]πρὸς ἡλί[.]ο[.]ν ἀνιόν[.]-  
τος[.] . . .]α[.]ετ[.] . . .]ρον[.]ημενα τούτων[.] . . . . . 28 . . . . .]τοῦτ[.]  
ον[.]χ[.]ωρίου τούτου χαράδρα Ξυλλεχο[.] . . . . . 25 . . . . .]ορο[.]  
αδα καλουμένην τόπον ἔφ[.]υ[.]λο[.]ν πολ[.]ύν . . . . . 24 . . . . .]μέχρ[.]  
ι τῶν ἀμ[.]π[.]έλ[.]ων τοῦτον ἐπεργασ[.] . . . . . 29 . . . . .]η[.]  
115 ἕτερα ἐπ[.]ε[.]ίργαστο[.] . . .]τη[.] . . .]έφυλ[.] . . . . . 34 . . . . .]  
α βόρραθεν τῇ[.] . . . 10 . . .]α[.] . . .]ιβ[.] . . . 19 . . . . .]υ[.] . . . 5 . . .]υ[.] . . . . .]

131 [. . .]το[. . .<sup>12</sup>. . .]ι[. . .<sup>17</sup>. . .]ομοσιν[. . .<sup>8</sup>. . .]ητο[.] τ[ό]π-  
[ος.]τοη[. . .<sup>7</sup>. . .]ν τόπος ἐρ[γάσιμος. . .<sup>5</sup>.]υ[. . .]χων τ[. . .<sup>5</sup>.]ο[.]θεις ἤν[η]φη-  
[σ]βήτει [.]ο[. . .<sup>5</sup>.]απ[.]ειου[. . .<sup>11</sup>. . .]ο[.]μ[.]ωπου[. . . κ]αλούμεν[ος. . .]ο[.]  
[ἐργά]σιμ[ο]ς [.]χ[.]ο[.] ἀνανφισβήτητος . . .]ρο[.]ο[. . .<sup>8</sup>. . .]ο[. . .] ἐρ[γάσιμ]-  
135 ος [.]ωνος ἀν[α]νφισβήτητος . . .<sup>11</sup>. . .]α[.]αρ[. . .<sup>8</sup>. . .]λο[. . .<sup>6</sup>. . .]ε[.]ο  
[. . .] τόπος ἐργάσιμος ἀν[ανφ]ισβήτητος . . .<sup>5</sup>.]ο[. . .<sup>17</sup>. . .]ου  
[. . .] τόπος πολὺς ἡβα[.]λειδης ἐν τα[ῖς . . .]αιοι[. . .]εγε[. . .<sup>5</sup>.]κα[. . .<sup>7</sup>. . .]ε[.]  
[φ]άσκων μ[ε]μ[ισθ]ῶσθαι: <sup>ΠΔ</sup> δραχμῶν [. . .]υνε[. τ]οῦτον [. . .<sup>11</sup>. . .] <sup>Π</sup>δραχ  
ταῦτα ἔφη μεμισθῶσθαι παρ' Ὑβρίο[υ] πρὸς τῶι λό[φ]ωι [. . .<sup>5</sup>.]ηνη[.]ει[. . . ὅ]π-  
140 [ε]ρσχ[ε]ῖν τούτων ἤν[η]φεσβήτει Ὑβρί[ας] Ὀτρυνεύς· τοῦτο[υ] τ[ὸ]ν τόπον [. . .]ε[.]  
[. . .]ιημι[.]σι[.] τῶν ὑλωνῶν Νόθιπ[ος. . .<sup>11</sup>. . .]ο[. . .]ουρο[. . .<sup>8</sup>. . .]  
ο[.]ς ἄπρατον τῶν φυλῶν ὕλην ε[. . .<sup>10</sup>. . .]εφην ὁδὸν [εἰς τὴν Βοιωτ[ί]αν] ε  
[. . .<sup>5</sup>.] θόλος οκ[.]ιο[. κ]αλούμενο[ς. . .<sup>5</sup>.]του[. . .<sup>10</sup>. . .]ανο[.]ε[.]ου[. . .]  
[. . .<sup>5</sup>.]ν τούτῳ τῶι [τόπ]ωι ἐργασ[ί]μωι . . .<sup>15</sup>.]α[. . .<sup>8</sup>. . .]ρ[. . .]  
145 [.]νευ τῶν φυλῶν [ἔ]στιν ἀνανφισ[β]ήτητα [.]εορι[. . .<sup>18</sup>. . .]  
ο[.]υλειμωνος τοῦ τησαθ[. . .]ο[.]αιπα[.]τ[. . .]οιπ[. . .]ο[. . .<sup>8</sup>. . .]α[. . .<sup>6</sup>. . .]  
λαν ἀνανφισ[β]ήτητο[υ]. ο[.]ιξε[.]τατ[. . .] ἄγρι[. . .]δεορ[.]οσ[. . .<sup>7</sup>. . .]αο[. . .]  
ν[. . .]ολειμω[. . .]το[. . .]π[.]ιου[. . .<sup>5</sup>. . .]καλουμ[έν]ου [.]ο[. . .<sup>8</sup>. . .]γα[. . .τ]-  
όπος ἐργάσιμος α[. . .]α[. . .]τα[. . .<sup>9</sup>. . .]οσ[. . .<sup>23</sup>. . .]

156  $[\Phi\mu\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma[\dots^{10}\dots]\tau[\dots]\mu[\dots^{33}\dots]]$   
 $\phi\lambda\alpha[\dots]o[\dots]o[\dots^{12}\dots]\lambda[\dots]a[\dots^{32}\dots]$   
 $\nu\acute{o}\sigma\sigma\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\pi\omicron\varsigma\tau[\dots^{46}\dots]$

170 [. .]ρευ[.]μένωι ο[.]ση[.]ε[.]<sup>9</sup>. . . .ειλ[.]<sup>5</sup>.]μοι κ[αλοῦ]μ[ενος] τόπος ἐργάσ]-  
[ιμ]ος καὶ ὕλη [.]<sup>6</sup>. . . .ο[.]<sup>5</sup>. . . .ω[.]<sup>5</sup>.]λ[.]νμε[.] τοῦτον τὸν τ[όπ]ον ε[.]σαρ[.]τ[.]  
τ[όπο]ς [.]<sup>6</sup>. . . .ο[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ε[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ι[.]<sup>5</sup>.]α[.]<sup>5</sup>.]καλ[οῦ]μεν[ος] ὁ τόπος λ[.]κ[.]<sup>5</sup>.] ἐργάσιμος [.]αρ[.]  
[.]<sup>5</sup>.]α[.]<sup>5</sup>. . . .ο[.]<sup>9</sup>. . . .ετ[.]<sup>7</sup>. . . .δ δρυμ[ός].]λ[.]ε[.]<sup>6</sup>. . . .κ[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ε[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ε[.]<sup>5</sup>.]υ[.]νισυν  
δρα[χ.]ΔΔΔ ηλ[.]<sup>6</sup>. . . .υριτου[.]<sup>5</sup>. . . .ουι[.]<sup>5</sup>. . . .κλοη[.]<sup>5</sup>. . . .αιο[.]<sup>5</sup>.]χ[.]<sup>5</sup>.]α[.]<sup>5</sup>.]η[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ι  
175 ηκε[.]<sup>5</sup>. . . .ηνε[.]<sup>5</sup>.]αω[.]<sup>5</sup>. . . .ν[.]<sup>5</sup>.]οι[.]<sup>5</sup>. . . .ολ[.]ητοις [.]ει[.]<sup>5</sup>. . . .ορ[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ο[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ι[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ρη[.]<sup>5</sup>.]α[.]  
[.]εια[.]τ[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ο[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ουπαρ[.]<sup>5</sup>.] καὶ τὸ ε[.]βου[.]ολ[.]<sup>5</sup>. . . .λ[.]<sup>6</sup>. . . .ο[.]<sup>9</sup>. . . .ον[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ο[.]  
[.]ιο[.]<sup>5</sup>. . . .ιοπ[.]<sup>7</sup>. . . .ητ[.]<sup>6</sup>.]ε[.]<sup>6</sup>.]α[.]<sup>5</sup>.]κ[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ε[.]<sup>5</sup>.]δων[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ο[.]<sup>13</sup>. . . .]  
[.]οτα καὶ [.]<sup>8</sup>.]αο[.]<sup>8</sup>. . . .ο[.]<sup>5</sup>.]σα[.]<sup>12</sup>. . . .οιτε[.]τ[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ι[.]<sup>5</sup>.]οι[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ο  
[.]<sup>6</sup>. . . .λλο[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ο[.]<sup>5</sup>.]τουλ[.]τ[.]<sup>8</sup>.]ι[.]<sup>8</sup>. . . .καλου[μ]ένου [.]<sup>5</sup>.]τα[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ο  
180 [.]πο[.]ε[.]<sup>8</sup>. . . .λ[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ητρια [.]<sup>26</sup>. . . .ο[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ν[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ιτα  
ν[.]<sup>12</sup>. . . .τ[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ι τῷ γε[.]<sup>5</sup>.]γο[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ιο[.]<sup>14</sup>. . . .ε[.]<sup>5</sup>.]γειτονία ἧς τ  
[.]να[.]<sup>14</sup>. . . .επη[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ουγειω[.]<sup>27</sup>. . . .ι  
[.]τηι[.]<sup>15</sup>. . . .λ[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ργ[.]<sup>5</sup>.]ο[.]<sup>8</sup>.]εμ[.]<sup>8</sup>.]α[.]<sup>13</sup>. . . .]  
[.]<sup>13</sup>. . . .ἀπράτων [.]<sup>10</sup>.]ολ[.]<sup>16</sup>. . . .λν[.]<sup>7</sup>.]  
185 ινον[.]<sup>8</sup>. . . .τ[.]<sup>7</sup>.]τε[.]<sup>17</sup>. . . .ρι[.]<sup>5</sup>.]τ[.]<sup>10</sup>. . . .]  
ασα[.]<sup>54</sup>. . . .]  
α[.]<sup>49</sup>. . . .λ[.]<sup>5</sup>.]

Lines 1–187 Langdon. Line 11 [’E]ρχι[εύς]? Walbank.

Line 2: Langdon suggested that the line could begin with the normal formula [ἐ]πὶ Ο[. . . ]ι[. . . <sup>7</sup> . . . ἄ]ρχοντ[ος --], noting that although epigraphical considerations permit restoration of the formula, a satisfactory name remains elusive: [ἐ]πὶ Φ[ρασ]ι[κλείδου ἄ]ρχοντ[ος], for example, is too early at 371/0, while the abbreviated demotic required by [ἐ]πὶ Φ[ρυν]ί[χου demotic ἄ]ρχοντ[ος] (337/6) is not acceptable. Ameling offered as a possibility [ἐ]πὶ Ο[λυμ]π[ιοδώρου ἄ]ρχοντ[ος]. Other restorations are [ἐ]πὶ Ο[. . . ]ι[. . . Ἀρι?]στάρχον Ι[–], possibly naming one of the phylarchs; or perhaps an orator formula, e.g., [Β]όηθ[ος εἰ]π[εν]; cf. the phyle decrees *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1143, 1146, and 1147. Line 4: I would read ταῖς [φ]υλαῖς, which Langdon rejects, seeing the second sigma instead as “a tau preserving both strokes in a deformed manner.” Lines 4–5: Langdon sees [ἐν δυοῖν στήλαι]ς λιθίνα[ις] as an attractive restoration. Line 18: Part of a name, such as [Πρ]όξεν[ος], seems possible; Langdon would read [ἐ]δ[οξεν].

It seems clear that lines 1–9 contain the text of a decree, perhaps one that the phylai Aigeis and Aiantis, whose affairs are the subject of this document (line 10), have agreed to pass jointly. Line 10 surely begins the report proper, with a list of the names of the horistai, perhaps, in lines 11–16. The actual property-by-property listing begins at line 17: about thirty properties are discussed in all. The evidence of the letter forms appears to support a date in the 330's or 320's, as do the few names that can be identified at all; it might be possible to restore the name of the archon Phrynichos (337/6 B.C., although with the unusual addition of a patronymic and demotic) in line 2, but Ameling has recently pointed out that Oropos was again ceded to Athens in 304 B.C. and remained Athenian property until 287 B.C. (on the evidence of *SEG* III, 117, dated to 303/2 B.C., which deals in part with a similar division of Oropian land among Attic phylai); he suggests that the occasion for the decree was the archonship of Olympiodoros (294/3–293/2 B.C.). A date in the 330's or 320's accords well with the affair described by Hypereides (4.16–17), in his speech in defense of Euxenippos: when Athens acquired the territory of Oropos by gift of King Philip II of Macedon (Pausanias, 1.34.1) in 338 B.C., the land in the Oropia that was not sacred to Amphiaraios was allotted to pairs of Attic phylai. The date of the speech seems to be ca. 330–324 B.C., and this is likely to be the date of the present document as well. In any case, it cannot be later than 319 B.C., since by that date Athens had once again lost control of the Oropia (see Diodoros, 17.56.7). If the phylai leased out the land allotted to them for a ten-year term, this document might be placed near the end of the first ten-year term, in 328 or 327 B.C., when the number and nature of the disputes necessitated a thorough revision of the whole system. Osborne (“Social and Economic Implications,” p. 286 and note 22) suggests that this “inscription represents the groundwork for . . . an apportionment, and that the tenants referred to are private tenants in existing occupation.” If he is correct, the date would be close to 338 B.C.

#### LEASE RECORDS: LEASES OF SACRED PROPERTIES

**L9.** Two joining fragments (I 7116) of an opisthographic stèle of Pentelic marble, found together on April 23, 1970, in a modern context on the north side of the Agora Square, southeast of the Church of St. Philip (O 6).

*a*: The flat, stipple-dressed top and the right lateral and reverse faces are preserved.

H. 0.309 m.; W. 0.183 m.; Th. 0.10–0.102 m.

*b*: The obverse face only is preserved, which joins the bottom of fragment *a*.

H. 0.199 m.; W. 0.273 m.; Th. 0.07 m.

*a + b*: H. 0.42 m.; W. 0.292 m.; Th. 0.10–0.102 m.; L.H. Face A, line 1 0.011 m.; lines 2ff. and Face B, 0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0086–0.009 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0088 m.

Ed. M. B. Walbank, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 177–191, no. 2, photographs pl. 45; *SEG* XXXIII, 168; 171; *SEG* XXXV, 124. See also M. B. Walbank, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 207–231.

ca. a. 338–326 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

#### FACE A

*a* [-----]μαίον

Col. I (or II?)	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24 (25)
[-----]	
[-----]	
[-----]	
[-----]	
[-----]	
[-----]	

Col. II (or III?)	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24 (25)
[. . . . . <sup>11</sup> . . . . .] τούτου γύης ΓΗΠΕ-	
[. . . . . <sup>9</sup> . . . . .] μισθω: Εὐθίας Φαι-	
25 [ . . . . . <sup>10</sup> . . . . .] ο: ΗΗΔΗ: ἐγγυη:	
[Ἀριστοκλήης?] Ἀριστοκλέους Ἀμα[.]	
[. . . . . <sup>10</sup> . . . . .] τούτω ὁ τῷ γύα πρὸς [.]	
[. . . . . <sup>9</sup> . . . . .] παραδρομῆς, μισθω[.]	

	[-----]		[... <sup>9</sup> ... Χ]αρίον <sup>υ</sup> Παια: ΗΗ<:)
	[-----]	30	[έγγυη: ...] ξέανδρος Χαριδήμο-
	[-----]		[υ Προ... <sup>7</sup> ...]ος vacat
	[-----]		[έφεξῆς τούτου]ν ιόντι τήν ὁδόν [τ]-
	[-----]		[ήν ... <sup>8</sup> ...] τετμημένην δεξι-
	[-----]		[ās χειρός <sup>υ</sup> π]ρώτος γύης, μισθ[ω<:)]
	[-----]	35	[... <sup>10</sup> ...]ο<ς> Χαριδήμον Προ[ο]-
	[-----]		[... <sup>10</sup> ...]ΔΔ: έγγυη: Χαιρ[.]-
	[-----]		[... Χαρίου?] Παιανιε vacat
	[-----]		[καὶ έχόμενος] τούτου τήν αὐτ[ήν]
	[-----]		[ὁδόν? ... <sup>6</sup> ...]ΤΑ ἐντὸς τῶν ὅρων[υ],
	[-----]	40	[μισθωτ: Ἀρι]στόδημος Ἀριστ[ο]-
	[-----]		[κλέους Οἶν]αῖ: ΗΔΔΗ: έγγυ[.]-
	[-----]		[... <sup>10</sup> ...]της Πολυκλέους [.-]
	[-----]		[... <sup>10</sup> ...] vacat
b	[... <sup>22</sup> ...]λι[.]		[καὶ έχόμενω] τούτου τήν αὐτ[ήν] (<ὁδόν> δύ)-
	[... <sup>21</sup> ...]ηγ[.]		
	[... <sup>15</sup> ...]μίσθωτ: Ο[.]-	45	ο γ[ύα?, μισθω:] Ἀριστόδημος vacat
5	[... <sup>18</sup> ...]έγγυ[.]		Ἀριστοκλέους Οἶ[υ]αῖ: ΗΠΔΔΔ[.]-
	[... <sup>20</sup> ...]η[...]		έγγυ: Ξενοκράτης vacat
	[... <sup>19</sup> ...]εφιδι[.]-		Γνιφωνίδου Μαραθώνιο[s vacat ]
	[... <sup>19</sup> ...]ν[...]		Π<α>ρά <δ>έ τούτω τῷ γύα τούτο[...]
	[... <sup>15</sup> ...]ΓΗ: έγγυη<:)	50	καὶ τὸν έχόμενον μεταξ[ὺ τοῦ <sup>υ</sup> ]-
10	[... <sup>16</sup> ...]ο]υ Ἀζηνι[.]		τοιν τοῖν χωρίοιν καὶ τ[οῖν <sup>υυ</sup> ]
	[... <sup>15</sup> ...]μ[ισθ]ω[ω]: Λο[...]		γύαιν, μισθω: Ἀριστοκλ[είδης]
	[... <sup>15</sup> ...]έγγυ: Μαη-		Λυσανίου Προβαλί: ΗΠΔ[...:]
	[... <sup>21</sup> ...]Μαραθ<:)		έγγυ: Λυσιθείδης Λυσιμ[...]
	[... <sup>22</sup> ...]ασο	55	Οἶναῖος vacat
15	[... <sup>16</sup> ...]ο]υ Ῥαμν[ο:]		Ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ βαδίσοντι τ[ήν <sup>υυ</sup> ]
	[... <sup>18</sup> ...]ολοι[.]λ-		ὁδόν τήν πομπικὴν, δεύτε[ρος <sup>υ</sup> ]
	[... <sup>17</sup> ...]ικ[... <sup>5</sup> ...]		γύης, μισθω: Σωνδρίδης Σ[ωστρ?]-
	[... <sup>22</sup> ...]ιηρ		άτου Ἑροιά: ΗΠΔΔΔΔΓ: [έγγυη:]
	[... <sup>21</sup> ...]δου	60	Φιλοκράτης Φιλοκράτ[ους Ἀχα?<:)]
20	[... <sup>22</sup> ...]α[.]		Τρίτος γύης ὧι νοτόθειν ... <sup>6</sup> ...]-
	[... <sup>18</sup> ...]γα[...]		γωνιος, μ[ισθω: ... <sup>12</sup> ...]-
	[... <sup>23</sup> ...]υλ-		κλ[είδου ... <sup>17</sup> ...]
	lacuna		lacuna

## FACE B

Col. II (or III?) ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24 (25)

a	Πέ[μ]πτον κηπέιον κα[ὶ ... <sup>8</sup> ...]
65	δεξιās χειρός, μισθ[ωτ: ... <sup>5</sup> ...]-
	βουλος Πεισικλέου[s ... <sup>7</sup> ...]
	ΔΔΔΔ: έγγυ: Νικόδη[μος ... <sup>5</sup> ...]-
	κράτους Μυρρινούσι[ος vacat ]
	Ἔκτον κηπέιον ιόντι δεξιās <sup>υυ</sup> ]
70	χειρός Μουνι<χι>άξε, μισ[θωτ: ... <sup>υυυ</sup> ]
	Τιμόθεος Τιμοκράτου[s ... <sup>5</sup> ...]
	έ<γγ>υ: Σωσίδημος Γλαύκω[νος ...]
	{Πέμπτον} <Ἑβδομον> κηπέιον οὗ ἡ συ[κάμι <sup>υυ</sup> ]-
	νος ἔνεστ[ι]ν, μισθωτ: Λ[... <sup>6</sup> ...]-

- 75 στρατος Κελεύοντος [Πειραιε]  
 :<sup>Π</sup>Δ: ἐγγυ: Κελεύων [ vacat ]  
 Ναυσιστράτου Πειρα[ιεύς vacat ]  
 "Ογδοον κηπείον δεξι[ās χειρ<sup>υ</sup>]-  
 ός, μισθωτ: Αἰσχίνη[s . . . . . 7]-  
 80 νίδου Πειραι: ΔΔΔ[. . : ἐγγυη:]  
 Ἀριστομένης Εὐπό[λιδος? . . . . . 9 . . . . .]  
 Τὸ ἔλος: μισθωτ: Ἀρ[ίστιππος?]  
 Ἡγησίππου ἐκ Κερ[: . . . . 9 . . . . .]  
 ἐγγυη: Ὀλυμπιό[δωρος? vacat ]-  
 85 Διογείτονος Ἀχ[αρνεύς? vacat ]  
 [Ἔ]νατον κηπείον [δεξι[ās χειρ<sup>υ</sup>]-  
 ός ἰόντι Μουνιχ[ιάζε, μισθωτ:]  
 Νικόφημος Φορ[. . . . . 12 . . . . .]-  
 [. . .]ν[. . .]<sup>Π</sup>Δ[. . .]: ἐ[γγυη: . . . . . 8 . . . . .]  
*lacuna*

Face A: Line 1 [τοῦ Ἀμφια]ραίον is possible. Line 17 Ἰκ[αριεύ(ς)]? Walbank. Line 21, e.g., Γα[ργ(ή)ττιος], [Περ]γα[σε(ύς)], or [Φη]γα[ιε(ύς)] Walbank. Line 23 [καὶ ἐχόμενος] τούτου? Walbank. Line 31 [Προβαλίσι]ος (or [Προσπάλτι]ος?) Walbank. Lines 35–36 Πρ[οβαλίσιος] or Πρ[οσπάλτιος] could be restored. Line 39, e.g., [δύο χωρ](<ίω)? Walbank. Line 54 Λυσιμ[άχου] might be supplied.

Face B: Line 73 The mason inscribed πέμπτον for ἑβδομον. Lines 74–75 Ν[αυσί<sup>υ</sup>]στρατος is a possibility. Lines 79–80 [Αἰσχρω<sup>υ</sup>]νίδου? D. M. Lewis (*ap.* Walbank). Line 88, e.g., Φορ[μισίου], Φορ[μίωνος], or Φορ[υσ ----]? Walbank.

This document is dated by letter forms, as are **L10**, **L11**, and **L12**, to the 330's or 320's; if, as I believe, **L9–L12** represent the first decennial revision of the system of leases of sacred properties that is represented by **L6**, the date will be 333/2 B.C.

#### LEASE RECORDS: LEASES OF SACRED PROPERTIES

**L10.** A fragment of pale, bluish gray Hymettian marble (E.M. 8694), found in 1834 on the Akropolis, west of the Parthenon. The left lateral and both inscribed faces are preserved, as well as, perhaps, the bottom of the stele.

H. 0.358 m.; W. 0.24 m.; Th. 0.10 m.; L.H. 0.004–0.005 m. (both faces); stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.009 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0088–0.009 m.

Edd. Face B: K. S. Pittakys, Ἐφ' Ἀρχ 34, 1853, pp. 865–866, no. 1387; *IG* II, 1056; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2495. Faces A and B: M. B. Walbank, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 191–199, no. 3, photographs of Faces A and B pls. 46, 47; *SEG* XXXIII, 169, 171. See also M. B. Walbank, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 207–231 and *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 14, pp. 67–68 (summary of Face B, without text).

ca. a. 338–326 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

#### FACE A

Col. II (III?)

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24 (25)

*lacuna*

[-----]  
 [. . . . . 17 . . . . .]εδο[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . . 13 . . . . .]Δ: ἐγγυ[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . . 13 . . . . .]Φη[γ]ούσ[ιος<sup>υ</sup>]  
 [. . . . . 13 . . . . .]κα]ἰ οἰκία ε[. . . . .]  
 5 [. . . . . 17 . . . . .]τον[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . . 16 . . . . .]ωρος[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . . 13 . . . . .]: ΗΗ<sup>Π</sup>Δ[. . . . .]: ἐγγ[υ: . . . . .]

- [.....<sup>15</sup>.....]γ[έ]νους 'Ρα[μ<: >]  
 [. . . . .<sup>15</sup>.....] καὶ οἰκία [. . .]  
 10 [. . . . .<sup>17</sup>.....]ύων Κηφ[ι]-  
 [σο. . . . .<sup>9</sup>.....]Ι: ΠΗΗΔΔΔΔΗ[: ἐ]-  
 [γγυ: . . . . .<sup>12</sup>.....]ην: ἐγγυ[:]  
 [. . . . .<sup>14</sup>.....]τ[ο]υς 'Αζ[η υ[ υυ]  
 [. . . . .<sup>14</sup>.....]τού]του τοῦ [. . .]  
 15 [. . . . .<sup>18</sup>....., μι]σθω:  
 [. . . . .<sup>19</sup>.....]ο]ν Οἰ[.]  
 [. . . . .<sup>21</sup>.....]ι[. . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>20</sup>.....]φλ[. . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>14</sup>.....]ἐν 'Επι? ]κηφισ[ί]-  
 20 [αι. . . . .<sup>12</sup>.....]τω[. . .]τ[ε]σ[. . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>20</sup>.....]ι[. . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>19</sup>.....]ασ[. . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>14</sup>.....]τού]του τοῦ [. . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>18</sup>.....]οσ[. . . . .]  
 25 [. . . . .<sup>19</sup>.....]ωπ[.]σ[.]  
 [. . . . .<sup>16</sup>.....]πα, μι]σθω:  
 [. . . . .<sup>14</sup>.....]ου[ς] Πει[ραι:]  
 [. . . . .<sup>14</sup>.....]η[. . .]σ[. . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>18</sup>.....]οἰκί]α? [. . .]  
 30 [. . . . .<sup>18</sup>.....]στόνον  
 [. . . . .<sup>13</sup>.....]Μι]λτιάδου [. . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>17</sup>.....], μισ[θ]ω: [. . .]-  
 [. . . . .<sup>15</sup>.....]του 'Αφιδ[να]  
 [. . . . .<sup>18</sup>.....]τα[. . . . .]

*lacuna*

# FACE B

Col. I

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24 (25)

*lacuna*

- 35 [τ]ά[δ]ε ὕστερον ἐμισθώ[θη ὁ υυυυ ]  
 [α]ὐτὸς αὐτοῖς χρόνος [ἐστὶν υυ ]  
 τῆς καταθέσεως τῆς μ[ισθώ υυυ ]-  
 σεως καὶ τῶν ὠραίων υ [ vacat ]  
 τῆς κομιδῆς vacat

*vacat*

- 40 'Αθηνᾶς τέλμα πρὸς ταῖς [πύλαις]  
 ταῖς παρὰ τὸ Διοχάρου[s . . .<sup>5</sup> . . .]  
 βαλανέον, μισθω: 'Αρρε[νείδης]  
 Χαρικλέους Παιανι: Δ[. . . . .<sup>6</sup> . . .]  
 ἐγγυ: Γνίφων Προκλέ[υς . . . . .]

*vacat*

- 45 ΕΠΙΣ[. . . . .]Γ[. . . . .<sup>15</sup> . . . . .] (*in rasura*)

*lacuna*

Face A Walbank; Face B *IG* II, 1056.

Face A: Line 4 [πρῶτον τέμενος καὶ οἰκία ἐχόμενον]? (or ἐ[ν ----]?) Walbank. Line 6 [Διόδ]ωρος ['Ισιγένους  
 'Ραμνούσι(ος)]? Walbank. Line 8 ['Ισι]γ[έ]νους? Walbank. Line 9 [δεύτερον τέμενος]? Walbank. Line 12: e.g.,  
 ['Ατ]ην(εύς) or ['Αζ]ην(ιεύς) or [Κυδαθ]ην(αιεύς) Walbank. Line 14: e.g., [ἐχόμενος τού]του τοῦ [τεμένους]

Walbank. Line 16 Οἱ[ν(αῖος)] (or Οἱ[ῆ(θεν)]?) Walbank. Line 22: e.g., [Ἀναγυρ]άσ[ιος], [Θρι]άσ[ιος], [Περγ]ασ[εύς], [Πτελε]άσ[ιος], [Τειθρ]άσ[ιος], [Φυλ]άσ[ιος], or [Πρ]ασ[ιεύ(ς)] Walbank. Line 30 [Ἀρι]στόνου? Walbank.

Face B: Line 45 ἐπὶ Σ[ωσιγ]έ[νους ἄρχοντος] (342/1 B.C.) is an unlikely restoration, in light of the letter forms.

This stele was engraved by the same mason as he who engraved L9; thus, its date is likely to be the same as that of L9.

#### LEASE RECORDS: LEASES OF SACRED PROPERTIES

**L11.** Fragment of pale, bluish gray Hymettian marble (I 4569), found on March 6, 1937, in a Turkish wall in the center of the Agora Square (K 9). The smooth-dressed left side is preserved with a left margin of 0.009 m. at line 4.

H. 0.108 m.; W. 0.116 m.; Th. 0.025 m.; L.H. 0.005 m.; stoichedon, almost square, with a horizontal checker of 0.0096 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0094 m.

Ed. M. B. Walbank, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 200–203, no. 4, photograph pl. 48; *SEG XXXIII*, 170, 171. See also M. B. Walbank, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 207–231.

ca. a. 338–326 a.

Col. I

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24 (25)

*lacuna*

[...ν[.....<sup>20</sup>]  
[...αρ: [.....<sup>18</sup>]-  
τος Ἐτεα[.....<sup>17</sup>]  
Παρά ΘΑΛΑ[.....<sup>17</sup>]-  
5 δε,μισθω: Ι[.....<sup>15</sup>]  
ωνος Μυρρινο: ...<sup>6</sup>... ἐγγυ:  
Με[ι]δ[ί]ας[.....<sup>14</sup>]  
[.]ΟΕΠΕΛΕΙ[.]ΑΣ[.....<sup>14</sup>]  
Φαληροῖ α[.....<sup>15</sup> Μ]-  
10 ύος Φαλ[η:.....<sup>16</sup>]  
[.]ην[.....<sup>21</sup>]

*lacuna*

Line 2 [Ἰκ]αρ[ιεύς] or [Χολ]αρ[ιεύς] (or [Ἀχ]αρ[ιεύς] or [Φρε]άρ[ριος]?) Walbank. Line 3: Perhaps [Χαι]ρόστρα[τος]? Ἐτεά[νδρου Παιανιεύς] (or Ἐτεά[ρχου Ἀγρυλῆθεν]). Line 4: Perhaps παραθαλα[ττιο---] (or παρά θάλα[τταν] or παρά θάλα[μον]). Line 6 [Μεῖδ]ωνος or [Λάμπ]ωνος? Walbank.

This document may be by the same mason as he who engraved L9 and L10, but the marble is of a different type, so that it must be part of another stele. The date should be the same as that suggested for L9 and L10.

#### LEASE RECORDS: LEASES OF SACRED PROPERTIES

**L12.** A fragment of bluish white, micaceous Pentelic marble (I 1977), found on May 8, 1934, in a Byzantine context on the northeast slope of the Areopagus (M 23). The smooth-dressed top is preserved.

H. 0.122 m.; W. 0.106 m.; Th. 0.032 m.; L.H. 0.005 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.009 × 0.009 m. The intercolumnar space is 0.003 m.

Ed. M. B. Walbank, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 203–206, no. 5, photograph pl. 48; *SEG XXXIII*, 171. See also M. B. Walbank, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 207–231.

ca. a. 338–326 a.

Col. I ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24? (25)

[.....<sup>21</sup>.....]μετο  
[.....<sup>17</sup>.....]τεὺς Ετ[.]  
[.....<sup>16</sup>.....]ἐ]γγυη<sup>υυ</sup>  
[.....<sup>15</sup>.....]Φαληρεὺς<sup>υ</sup>  
5 [.....<sup>18</sup>.....]ται χησ[.]  
[.....<sup>17</sup>.....]αγγέλου

Col. II ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24? (25)

Ἀγρ[.....<sup>22</sup>.....]-  
υλ[.....<sup>22</sup>.....]  
ἐγ[γυη:.....<sup>18</sup>.....]-  
15 ἐ[.....<sup>23</sup>.....]-  
Φ[.....<sup>24</sup>.....]

*lacuna*



[.....<sup>17</sup>.....]ιδης<sup>uuu</sup>  
 [.....<sup>17</sup>.....]ος<sup>uuuu</sup>  
 10 [.....<sup>17</sup>.....]οπω[.]ιον<sup>v</sup>  
 [.....<sup>17</sup>.....]τος<sup>uuuu</sup>  
 [.....<sup>17</sup>.....]νους[.3.]  
 lacuna

Line 11: Probably a name, either [--]νους or [--]νον Σ[--]. Line 12 ἀγρ[ός] or ἀγρ[οί] or, perhaps, ἀγρ[ιος]; it is less likely that this line contains a reference to the districts of Agrai or Agryle, or even to the Goddess Artemis Agrotera.

This fragment is of the same general date as L9, L10, and L11 but is probably the work of a different mason, whose preference it was to observe syllabic divisions at the ends of lines. If it belongs to the same series as those three texts, it will have the same date as that suggested for them.

#### DECREE OF THE DEME OF PEIRAEIUS: CONSTRUCTION AND LEASE OF A THEATER

**L13.** Four fragments of Hymettian marble, found at different times and places. Fragments *a*, *b*, and *c* join each other.

*a*: Fragment (I 2440, now E.M. 13447) found on February 15, 1935, in the wall of a modern house over the East Stoa (O 14). The left side and rough-picked back are preserved.

H. 0.079 m.; W. 0.105 m.; Th. 0.038 m.

*b*: Fragment (I 6439, now E.M. 13446) found on February 15, 1952, in the foundation of a modern house northwest of the Church of the Holy Apostles (O 14). The right side and back are preserved.

H. 0.17 m.; W. 0.12 m.; Th. 0.055 m.

*c*: Fragment (E.M. 7719) of unknown provenience. The back and left side are preserved.

H. 0.085 m.; W. 0.11 m.; Th. 0.048 m.

*d*: Fragment found before 1828 in Athens; it is now in London (British Museum 12). The left and right sides and the rough-picked back are preserved.

H. 0.225 m.; W. 0.219–0.229 m.; Th. 0.055–0.065 m.

*a*, *b*, *c* combined: H. 0.174 m.; W. 0.208–0.215 m.; Th. at top 0.038 m., at bottom 0.055 m.; L.H. 0.005–0.006 m. (all fragments); non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.009 m. (fragments *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, lines 19–32); fragment *d*, lines 33ff. have a vertical checker of 0.008 m.

Ed. *a*: B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 1–2, no. 1, photograph pl. 1; *b*: B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 32, 1963, pp. 12–13, no. 10, photograph pl. 4; *c*: *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1176 *a*; *d*: *CIG* I, 102; E. L. Hicks, *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* I, London 1874, no. XII; *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1176 *b*. *a*, *b*, *c*: Meritt (1960). *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*: R. S. Stroud, *CSCA* 7, 1974, pp. 290–298, no. 3, photograph of *a*, *b*, *c* pl. 4; *SEG* XIX, 117; XXI, 516, 521; XXXIII, 143; C. J. Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander*, Chicago 1985, pp. 366–370, no. 76; A. G. Woodhead, *Agora* XVI. See also *Attische Pachturkunden*, nos. 30, 31, pp. 86–88 (summary without text).

*a*. 324/3 *a*.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. 31–40

lacuna  
*a* + *b* [τὴν?] σκηνὴν προ[. <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> .] ασι[. . .] [---ca. 7---]  
 [ἐ]άν τι βο[ύ]λωντ[αι πε]ρὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν  
 ἐξείναι δὲ αὐ[τοῖς] χ[ρ]ῆσθαι λίθοις καὶ  
 γῇ ἐκ τοῦ τεμ[ένους] τοῦ Διονύσου· ὅταν δ'  
 5 ἐξίωσιν παρὰ [---ca. 6---] ἅπαντα ὀρθὰ καὶ ἐ-  
 στηκότα· ἐὰν [---ca. 7---] εἰψωσιν πρὸς τῇ σκη-  
 νῇ κέρα[μον καὶ ξύ]λα ἀπίτω λαβὼν πα-  
*c* ΝΚ[---ca. 5---] ΛΛΙ· [ὁ δὲ χ]ρόνος ἄρχει τῆς μι-  
 σθώσεω[ς] Ἡγησίας ἄρχων· τοὺς δὲ δημό-  
 10 τας θεωρεῖν ἀργύριο[ν] διδόντας πλὴν ὅ-  
 σοις οἱ δημόται προ[εδρίαν δ]εδώκασι·  
 τούτους δ' ἀπογράψα[ι πρὸς τοὺς π]ρια[μέ]-  
 νους τὸ θέατρον· εἶν[αι δὲ τὴν προεδρίαν]  
 καὶ τῷ δημάρχῳ κα[ὶ] [---ca. 7---] καὶ τῷ κή]-

- 15 ρυκι καὶ εἴ τωι ἄλλωι [δεδώκασιν οἱ δημόται]  
 [τῇ]ν προεδρίαν· ὅσοι δ[ἐ -----<sup>ca. 17</sup>-----]  
 [-----<sup>ca. 13</sup>-----]ΝΙ[-----<sup>ca. 24</sup>-----]  
*lacuna*

*lacuna*

- d [-----<sup>ca. 11</sup>-----τοὺς πριαμένους τὸ θέ]ατρ[ο]ν πα[ρέ]-  
 [χειν τοῖς δημότ]αις ἡδ[ω]λιασμένην τὴν θέαν [κα]-  
 20 [τὰ τ]ὰ πάτρια· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποήσωσιν κατὰ τὰς συνθ[ή]-  
 κας τὰς περὶ τὸ θέατρον, οἰκοδομῆσαι μὲν Πειρα-  
 εάς τὰ δεόμενα, τὰ δ' ἀναλώματα τοῖς πριαμένοις  
 εἶναι· ἐπιτιμητὰς δὲ αἰρεῖσθαι Πειραεάς ὅταν πα-  
 ραδιδῶσι τὸ θέατρον τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐκ Πειραέων·  
 25 ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν δήμαρχον καὶ τοὺς ταμίαις ἀντί-  
 γραφα τῶν συνθηκῶν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσα-  
 ι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῶν δημοτῶν· παραγράψαι δὲ καὶ τὸ  
 ὄνομα, παρ' ᾧ ἂν κείωνται αἱ συνθήκαι· ὠνηταὶ Ἀρι-  
 στοφάνης Σμικύθο·  $\Phi$ H: Μελησίας Ἀριστοκράτο· ΧΗ  
 30 Ἀρεθούσιος Ἀριστόλεω Πήληξ·  $\Phi$ : Οἰνοφῶν Εὐφι-  
 λήτου Πειραιεύς· ΧΗ. *vacat*  
 Καλλιάδης εἶπεν· ἐψηφίσθαι Πειραεῦσι· ἐπειδὴ Θεαῖος  
 φιλοτιμείται πρὸς τοὺς δημότας καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ  
 ἔμπροσθε χρόνῳ καὶ πεπόηκεν τριακοσίαις δρα-  
 35 χμαῖς πλέον εὐρεῖν τὸ θέατρον, στεφανῶσαι αὐτ-  
 ὸν θαλλῶ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιο-  
 σύνης τῆς εἰς τοὺς δημότας· στεφανῶσαι δὲ  
 καὶ τοὺς πριαμένους τὸ θέατρον Ἀριστοφάνην  
 Πειραέα, Μελησίαν Λαμπτρέα, Οἰνοφῶντα  
 40 Πειραιέα, Ἀρεθούσιον Πήληκα. *vacat*

Line 1 Walbank and Woodhead; [τῇ]ν σκηνὴν προ[. . . ]ασ[. . . <sup>ca. 12</sup>. . .] Stroud. Lines 2–8 Stroud, with additional readings by Walbank in lines 4 and 8. Lines 8–9 *Attische Pachturkunden*, p. 88. Lines 9–13 *IG II*<sup>2</sup>. Line 13 Stroud. Lines 14–16 *IG II*<sup>2</sup>. Lines 18–40 *CIG*.

Line 5: Stroud offered the possibility of παρα[δούναι] or παρα[δόντων], comparing *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2492, line 15 and 2499, line 17. Woodhead (*per ep.*) suggested παρα[διδόναι]. Line 6: Stroud suggested ἐὰν δὲ περιαι]είψωσιν, citing *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1672, line 61 and 2499, line 7. Line 7: Compare *SEG XXIV*, 203, lines 16–18 and *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 2499, lines 11–12. Line 8: παρὰ? Woodhead. Line 13: εἶν[αι δὲ καὶ προεδρίαν] Woodhead; *IG II*<sup>2</sup> εἶν[αι δὲ προεδρίαν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν]. Line 14: Stroud suggested κα[ὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι], comparing *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, 1214, lines 22–25; κα[ὶ τῷ ταμίαι] Woodhead. Line 15: Walbank and Woodhead; Stroud reads dotted kappa, sigma, upsilon, or perhaps psi, followed by eta, iota, or kappa.

Stroud suggested (p. 297) that the name of another person, who is not included among those honored in lines 32–40, should be restored in lines 7–8: this man was given the right to remove tiles and lumber from the site. He may have been mentioned in the missing upper part of this document.

The contract was to begin in the archonship of Hegesias (324/3 B.C.). Behrend (*Attische Pachturkunden*, p. 86, note 171) suggested that the lease had been granted late in the previous year, when the name of the incoming archon was already known, but Stroud pointed out (p. 298) that in the absence of the name of the month when either the *misthosis* began or the first payment came due, it is equally possible that the decree and the inception date of the lease both fell in 324/3 B.C.

#### LEASE RECORDS: LEASES OF SACRED PROPERTIES

**L14.** Two fragments of pale bluish marble, probably Hymettian, found at different places and times.

a: Fragment (E.M. 8015) found on the Akropolis before 1873. It is broken all around; the back has been reworked in Christian times.

H. 0.28 m.; W. 0.17 m.; Th. 0.11 m.

*b*: Fragment (I 5775) found on April 15, 1939, on the surface near the Mycenaean Wall on the north slope of the Akropolis (V 24). It is broken all around and at the back.

H. 0.071 m.; W. 0.062 m.; Th. 0.059 m.

L.H. 0.004–0.005 m. (both fragments); non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.009 m.

Ed. *a*: *IG* II, 852; II<sup>2</sup>, 1592; *a*, *b*: M. B. Walbank, *Hesperia* 53, 1984, pp. 361–368, photographs of both fragments pl. 69; 54, 1985, p. 140; *SEG* XXXIV, 124.

*fin. saec. IV vel init. saec. III a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. 70–75?

*lacuna*

*a* [-----]ακλ[-----] πρῶτον τέμενος ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθ]-  
[ώσατο -----]: Ἀλαιε: μισ: [-----]: ἐγ:]-  
[-----]: ἐγ:]- Ἑστιαῖος Λυ[-----: δεύτερον τέμενος ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθώσατ]-  
[ο -----: Ἀλι]μού: μισ: Γνίφω[ν? -----: ἐγ: -----]-  
5 [-----: ἐγ: --] Διονυσιοδώρ[ου: -----: ἐγ: -----: τρίτον τέμενος ὃ πρό]-  
[τερον ἐμισθώσατ]ο Ἑρακλείδης[ -----: μισ: -----]-  
[-----: ἐ]γ: Καλλιᾶδης Αἰ[ -----: τέταρτον τέμενος ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθώσ]-  
[ατο ----- κ]λέους: Ἀγγελ: μισ: Αν[ -----: ἐγ: -----]-  
[-----: ἐγ: --] χείτων Θεοπόμπου: Α[-----: ἐγ: -----]-  
10 [-----: πέμ]πτου τέμενος Θεα[--- ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθώσατο -----]-  
[: μισ: -----: Αἰ]γίλι: ΧΗΗ<sup>Π</sup>ΔΔ: ἐγ: Δω[-----: ἐγ: -----]-  
[: ἐγ: ---ο]υ: Αἰγίλι: ἐν Κυνοσ[άργει? ----- ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθώσ]-  
[ατο -----: οἰκ: μισ: Χαρίδη[μος? -----: ἐγ: -----]-  
[-----: ἐγ: -----]τίμου: Φρεαρ: [ἐν? ----- ὃ πρότε]-  
15 [ρον ἐμισθώσατο -----: ἐγ Μυρρι: μισ: Δ[-----: ἐγ: -----]-  
[-----: -----ε]ως τέμενο[ς ὃ πρότερον ἐμισθώσατο -----]-  
[: μισ: -----]μαχος Εὐθί[ου: -----: ἐγ: -----]-  
[-----: -----]ΡΥ[<sup>2-3</sup> -----]ΙΣ[-----]

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*b* [-----: ΔΗ: [ἐγ: -----]-  
20 [-----]οτου[-----]-  
[-----: ]μι: Αγ[-----]-  
[-----: Αἰ]γίλι: [-----]-  
[-----]ε ἐπὶ το[-----]-  
[-----]ο[υ]: Φρε[αρ: -----]-

*lacuna*

Fragment *a* *IG* II, expanded by Walbank. Line 7 Αἰ[γιλιεύς] *IG* II<sup>2</sup> and *PA* 7784. Line 12, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>. Fragment *b* Walbank.

Line 1 [Ἑρ]ακλ[έους ἐν Κυνοσάργει τεμένη]? Walbank; cf. **L6**, lines 102ff. Another possibility is [ἐν Κυνοσούραι].  
Line 4 Γνίφω[νίδης]? Walbank. Line 6: Another possibility is ὃ Ἑρακλείδης[ καθιέρωσεν]; cf. **L6**, lines 137–138.  
Line 12: Another possibility is ἐν Κυνοσ[ούραι]. Line 13 Χαρίδη[μίδης]? Walbank.

The two fragments may derive from different stelai but are clearly of the same date: there are slight differences in letter forms and in abbreviations, but the system of identifying tenants and guarantors by name and patronymic, followed by a punctuation mark and then by an abbreviated demotic, is precisely the same on both fragments. They thus form parts of a series, similar to **L8**(?), **L11**, and **L12**, in which the information regarding leases was recorded on several stelai of the same date. They may well, indeed, be a continuation of the series comprised by **L8** (343/2 B.C.), **L11**, and **L12** (333/2 B.C.), but their letter forms indicate that they represent revisions of the system two or three decades further on, perhaps 303/2 or 293/2 B.C.

## LEASE RECORD: LEASE(S) OF PUBLIC PROPERTY

**L15** (Pl. 14). Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 6007), found on June 3, 1947, in a Byzantine context in the industrial district east of the Great Drain (C 19). It is broken all around: the back, though flat, is probably not original, in view of the preserved thickness of this stone.

H. 0.077 m.; W. 0.065 m.; Th. 0.021 m.; L.H. 0.006–0.008 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.014 m. Unpublished.

*fin. saec. IV vel init. saec. III a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[-----]ος Κεφά[λ -----]  
 [-----] καὶ ὅρους ὅσο[vs-----]  
 [-----] χρόνος] ἄρχει τῆς μ[ισθώσεως -----]  
 [-----] κ[εράμο]ν? -----]  
 5 [-----]ῃ εἰ[-----]

*lacuna*

Line 1[---]ος Κεφά[λον (or λίκωνος?) *demotic*] are possible; [---]ος Κεφά[λῆθεν] or κεφά[λαιον] have been suggested by G. V. Lalonde (*per ep.*). Line 2: Cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2492, lines 23–24, for *horoi* around leased property. Line 3: Cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2492, lines 18–19 for the formula for the inception date of a lease. Line 4: Another possibility is [Κ]ερά-μω[ν]; cf. *PA* 8267: Κεράμων Φλυεύς. This is perhaps the start of a new lease, the end of the dating formula of line 3 (if so, perhaps, the name of a demarch), or, more likely, part of the formula that permits the outgoing tenant to remove timber and roof tiles that he has added to the leased building; cf., for instance, *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2499, lines 13 and 35. Line 5: Perhaps ἐγ[<γυνητῆς>].

This fragment was brought to my notice by G. V. Lalonde. The formulas suggest that this is a lease granted by a public body; it is of much the same date as **L14**.

## DECREE OF ORGEONES OF BENDIS AND DELOPTIS: LEASE OF CULT PROPERTY

**L16**. Fragment of Hymettian marble (I 4143), found on May 14, 1936, in a Byzantine context at the northwest corner of the Agora proper (G 4). The right side and rough-picked back are preserved.

H. 0.12 m.; W. 0.24 m.; Th. 0.063 m.; L.H. lines 1–2, 0.008–0.010 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.015 m.; lines 3ff., 0.006–0.008 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.01 m. There is a vertical uninscribed space of 0.04 m. between lines 2 and 3.

Ed. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, p. 21, no. 27, photograph pl. 6; *SEG* XIX, 125; A. G. Woodhead, *Agora* XVI. See also *Attische Pachturkunden*, no. 42, p. 99 (summary without text).

*fin. saec. II vel init. saec. I a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. 55–60?

*lacuna*

-----]ῃων[---<sup>ca. 6</sup>---]  
 [-----] εἰς τοὺς θεούς *vacat*  
*vacat*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. 75–80?

[-----]ι τεῖ Βενδίδι καὶ Δηλόπτει[ι . . . ]  
 [-----] Θράκες ἐπειδὴ ἡ βουλή κ[αὶ ὁ δῆ]-  
 5 [μος -----] ἐμίσ]θωσαν Ἀθηναίους [---<sup>ca. 6</sup>---]  
 [-----] τοῖς [---<sup>ca. 12</sup>---]

*lacuna*

Lines 3–5 Meritt.

Line 1: Perhaps [στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον α]ὑτῶν [θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆς εἰς] τοὺς θεούς (cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1297, lines 15–17), or [στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρύσωι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ -- δρα]χμῶν [εὐσεβείας ἔνεκεν τῆς τε πρὸς τὴν Βένδι καὶ τὸν Δηλόπτην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεούς; for the second part of this restoration, cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 1324, lines 13–19. Line 2 [πρὸς] Meritt. Line 5: Another possibility is [ἐμίσ]θωσαν Ἀθηναίους [δὲ ----].

Lines 1–2 seem to have been cut by a different and less skilled mason than he who engraved lines 3ff., which are inscribed with smaller, more closely spaced letters. Woodhead (*per ep.*) believes, however, that the same mason worked on both parts of the document. The date depends upon the assessment of the lettering.

As lines 3ff. are restored by Meritt, the obvious interpretation is that the orgeones of Bendis and Deloptis have leased something to the Athenians. This interpretation could be changed, however, if a different punctuation were to be adopted: for instance, if we read [ἐμίσ]θωσαν Ἀθηναίους [δὲ ---], it would be possible to interpret this document as a record of a lease entered into by the orgeones from the Athenian State, and I am inclined to view this as the more likely interpretation, despite the unanimous contrary opinion of my predecessors.

## APPENDIX

In this section are gathered inscriptions from the Agora excavations that have sometimes been thought to be lease records, or for which a case of sorts can be made for assigning them to this category.

### LEGES SACRAE. DECREE OF THE DEME OF MELITE

#### LEASE OF PUBLIC PROPERTY? (OR CONTRACT FOR PUBLIC WORKS?)

**LA1.** Seventeen fragments of Pentelic marble, found at various times and places, forming parts of a flat-topped, four-sided pillar, probably originally set up in the City Eleusinion. The fragments are numbered here in the order of their probable positions, where determinable, in Faces A, B, C, and D, and after that at random, with positions uncertain. The order is that established by Meritt, as modified in *IG I*<sup>3</sup>, and the descriptions of the fragments are adapted from his.

#### Face A

*a* (I 1317 a): Fragment from the upper edge of the stele, with somewhat roughly dressed top preserved, which joins the left side of the corner fragment *b*, found in the wall of a modern house south of the central part of the Middle Stoa (M 14) on February 10, 1934.

H. 0.159 m.; W. 0.04 m.; Th. 0.096 m.; L.H. 0.018–0.019 m. Interline *ca.* 0.003–0.005 m.

*b* (I 1317 b): Fragment from the upper right corner of Face A, with the right face also preserved and with a roughened top, found in the wall of a modern house south of the Stoa of Attalos (Q 13) on February 28, 1952. This fragment joins the right edge of fragment *a*.

H. 0.135 m.; W. left face, 0.15 m.; Th. right face, 0.10 m.; L.H. 0.018–0.019 m. Interline Face A, *ca.* 0.003–0.005 m.; Face B, *ca.* 0.002–0.005 m.

*c* (I 1230 d): Fragment from the lower left side of Face A, preserving also part of its left lateral face (D) of which only the top part (four lines) is inscribed, found in the wall of a modern house outside the Agora Square south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (Q 19) on November 25, 1937.

H. 0.257 m.; W. 0.151 m.; Th. 0.098 m.; L.H. 0.020 m. Interline Face A, *ca.* 0.003–0.005 m.; Face D, *ca.* 0.004–0.005 m.

*d* (I 1230 c): Fragment from the lower left side of Face A, with the uninscribed left side preserved (though the corner is broken), found in the wall of a modern house outside the Agora Square south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (Q 19) on November 22, 1937.

H. 0.175 m.; W. right face, 0.20 m.; Th. left face, 0.089 m.; L.H. 0.017 m. Interline *ca.* 0.002–0.005 m.

*e* (I 4350): Fragment from the lower right side of Face D, with this face uninscribed and with text preserved on its right lateral face (A). This stone was dug out of the wall of a house at 5 Polygnotou Street, between the Greek and Roman Agoras, by a workman who had been hired to whitewash the house and by him delivered to the Agora Museum in 1936. Meritt assigned this fragment to Face C and Face D (his fragment no. 8).

H. 0.222 m.; W. (uninscribed face), 0.10 m.; Th. (inscribed face), 0.165 m.; L.H. 0.018 m. Interline *ca.* 0.004–0.006 m.

#### Face B

Fragment *b*, already described, forms the upper left corner of Face B. Fragment *f* occupied the upper right corner.

*f* (I 1175 b): Fragment from the upper right corner of Face B, with the right face also inscribed, and with a picked top, found built into the west wall of the Church of St. Athanasios (G 19) on the north slope of the Areopagus on March 13, 1939.

H. 0.31 m.; W. left face, 0.205 m.; Th. right face, 0.155 m.; L.H. 0.018–0.019 m. Interline Face B, *ca.* 0.002–0.005 m.; Face C, *ca.* 0.002–0.006 m.

*g* (I 3110 b): Fragment from the lower right side of Face B, preserving also part of its right lateral surface (Face C) of which only the top part (four lines) is inscribed, found in the cellar wall of a modern house just outside the Agora Square to the southeast (Q 18) on February 17, 1938. This fragment joins above fragment *h*.

H. 0.195 m.; W. left face, 0.105 m.; Th. right face, 0.20 m.; L.H. 0.018 m. Interline Face B, *ca.* 0.002–0.006 m.; Face C, *ca.* 0.001–0.003 m.

*h* (I 3100 c): Fragment from the lower right side of Face B, preserving also an uninscribed part of Face C, found in the wall of a modern house just outside the Agora Square to the southeast (P 17) on February 23, 1938. This fragment joins below fragment *g*.

H. 0.30 m.; W. left face, 0.125 m.; Th. right face, 0.235 m.; L.H. 0.015 m. Interline *ca.* 0.002–0.007 m.

#### Face C

Fragment *f*, already described, forms the upper left corner of Face C.

Fragments *g* and *h*, already described, have their right lateral faces in Face C. Only four lines of text are preserved, and below them the stones are uninscribed.

*i* (I 1230 a): Fragment made up of two joining pieces which are uninscribed in Face C but with text preserved on the right lateral face (D). The upper (thin) piece was found in the wall of a modern house south of the central part of the Middle Stoa (L 14) on January 23, 1934, and the larger (substantial) piece which joins below it was found in the wall of a modern house over the eastern end of the Middle Stoa (N 13) on March 6, 1935.

H. 0.42 m. overall; W. left face overall, 0.185 m. (uninscribed); Th. right face, 0.10 m.; L.H. 0.017–0.019 m. Interline *ca.* 0.003–0.005 m.

#### Face D

*j* (I 1175 a): Fragment from the top of the stele with part of the roughened top surface preserved, although with indications of a smoother drafting toward the front, otherwise broken, found in the wall of a modern house south of the central part of the Middle Stoa (M 14) on December 29, 1933.

H. 0.118 m.; W. 0.165 m.; Th. 0.062 m.; L.H. 0.016 m. Interline *ca.* 0.002–0.007 m.

Fragments *e* and *i* have already been described. Their lateral faces belong to the lower edges of Face D. Fragments *c* and *d*, also already described, belong to the lower right edge of Face D, the respective levels on the stone being determined by the restoration [ἐν τ]ῷ ἡερόδω, which runs over from fragment *c* to fragment *i*.

#### *Fragmenta sedis incertae*

*k* (I 2088 a): Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house over the southern part of the Odeion (L–M 11) on November 21, 1934.

H. 0.182 m.; W. 0.081 m.; Th. 0.124 m.; L.H. 0.019 m. Interline *ca.* 0.004–0.006 m.

*l* (I 2088 b): Fragment of Pentelic marble, found in a modern cistern east of the southern part of the Odeion (N 11) on March 6, 1935. It had been found originally by Fauvel and stored in his house, where it was seen and transcribed by Gell and published as *CIG* I, 1035 (republished as *IG* I, 7 and *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 7) but was then lost. It is composed of two joining pieces of marble, broken on all sides and at the back. Its place on the original pillar is uncertain.

H. 0.35 m.; W. 0.18 m.; Th. 0.108 m.; L.H. *ca.* 0.018 m. Interline *ca.* 0.001–0.005 m.

*m* (I 1243): Fragment of Pentelic marble broken on all sides, found in a modern context west of the Odeion (K 12) on January 24, 1934.

H. 0.177 m.; W. 0.057 m.; Th. 0.125 m.; L.H. *ca.* 0.018 m. Interline *ca.* 0.003–0.007 m.

*n* (E.M. 6560): Fragment of Pentelic marble broken on all sides, found by Pittakys east of the Propylaia and published as *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 841. The fragment is of considerable size, but only a small portion of the surface is preserved.

H. 0.32 m.; W. 0.29 m.; Th. 0.25 m.; L.H. 0.018 m. Interline *ca.* 0.002–0.004 m.

*o* (I 1230 b): Fragment of Pentelic marble broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house over the east end of the Middle Stoa (N 13) on January 26, 1934.

H. 0.16 m.; W. face, 0.027 m.; Th. 0.064 m.; L.H. 0.018 m. Interline *ca.* 0.005 m.

*p* (I 3654): Fragment of Pentelic marble broken on all sides, found in a Late Roman context over the west end of South Stoa II (L 15) on February 29, 1936. The marble has veins of crystalline structure similar to those of fragment *q*.

H. 0.11 m.; W. 0.07 m.; Th. 0.065 m.; L.H. 0.018 m. Interline *ca.* 0.002–0.004 m.

q (I 3110 a): Fragment composed of two joining pieces of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, of which the one on the left (i) was found in the wall of a modern house over the area of the Southeast Fountain House (O 16) on October 11, 1935, and the one on the right (ii) in a modern context outside the Agora Square to the southeast (Q 18) on February 7, 1938.

i: H 0.19 m.; W. 0.185 m.; Th. 0.085 m.

ii: H. 0.198 m.; W. 0.156 m.; Th. 0.074 m.

i + ii (combined): H. 0.236 m.; W. 0.284 m.; Th. 0.085 m.; L.H. 0.018 m. Interline *ca.* 0.002–0.006 m.

Ed. *CIG* I, 1035; *IG* I, 6, 7; *IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 7, 841; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 36, 1967, pp. 72–84, no. 15, photographs of all 17 fragments pls. 24, 25; *SEG* XXIV, 1; *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 243.

*ca.* a. 480–475(?) a.

FACE A

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 30–31

a, b [ἐδοχσεν τῇ -----β]ολῆι : ἐπ  
[ἰ ----- ἄρχοντος -----] ἄλλαι : ε-  
[-----] ἐπορ[. . .]  
[-----] ιε[. . . .]  
5 [-----] κλ[. . . .]  
[-----] εο[. . . .]  
[-----] λ / [. . . .]

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

c [.] ακιαν [ -----]  
καὶ μάν[τει? ----- κα]-  
10 ἰ ἀκολο[ύθοισι-----]  
αν hier[ -----? ἀ]-  
ποδοῖ : ἐ[ -----? hierομν]-  
έμοσι : π[ -----]  
[.] οος με / [ -----]  
15 [.] τόδε : π[ -----]  
[.] εν τε[ -----]

*lacuna*

*lacuna of at least 2 lines*

d [ . . . . ] s : ρ [ -----]  
[ . . . . ] ai : τα[ -----]  
[ . . . . ] s πλ[ -----]  
20 [ . . . . ] : : : το / [ -----]  
[ . . . . ] ντα : [ -----]  
[ . . . . ] γο[ -----]

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

e [.] εν [ -----]  
οστο[ -----]  
25 αιτα[ -----]  
α ἐστ[ -----]  
ον : κα[ -----]  
ος : το[ -----]  
αλκ[ -----]

*lacuna*

## FACE B

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 30-31

- b, f 30 θεσ[μὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πρόσθεν τῷ] Θερ[ικ]λείο [᾿Α]  
 τθί[δον στέλον τός τε νῦν] η[ι]ερομνέμον-  
 ας : κ[αὶ τὸν δέμαρχον τὸν Μελι]τέον : τῷ h-  
 [-----]ατε[.]ον : ἐτ-  
 [-----]ανο[.] : χρι-  
 35 [θδν-----] δύο : τριτε-  
 [-----] : οἶνο : ηε-  
 [μιχ-----]μέλ[ι]τος : ηε-  
 [μιχ-----]

*lacuna**lacuna*

- g + h [-----]τ[.]  
 40 [-----]ρτ[.]  
 [-----]οτ[~~τ~~]  
 [-----]ε : α[.]  
 [-----]σ[.]  
 [-----]  
 45 [-----]ν h /  
 [-----]αν : ο-  
 [-----]δικε  
 [-----]ειον  
 [-----]τος ο  
 50 [-----]ις ἀν-  
 [-----]λοι : ἐν  
 [-----]ος : ἀν-  
 [-----]εν : τ-  
 [-----]υτο

*lacuna*

## FACE C

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 30-31

- f  
 55 [σ]όιζεν : [-----]  
 [.]εν ηε τα[-----]  
 [.]ονίας : δ[-----]  
 τὸν βολό[μενον]-----᾿Α]-  
 θεναίον [-----]  
 60 δόλος : το[-----]  
 τας : δραχ[μ-----]  
 ζεν : ἡοτο[-----]  
 [.]ς ποιεσ : α[-----]  
 [.]ι : ἡοῖς [-----]  
 65 [.]ς κοιν[-----]  
 [.]... ηιερ[-----]  
 [.]... ^αρ[-----]

*lacuna*



lacuna

*g + h, i*      \σι : κ [-----]  
 [.]νας : πρ[-----? *hiερομ*]-  
 70 [ν]έμοσι : τε[----- *τετ*]-  
 [ά]ρτες<sup>vvv</sup> [      *vacat*      ]  
                                  *vacat*

ca. a. 450(?) a.

FACE D

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 30-31

*j*      [ἐδοχσεν Μ]ελιτεῦσ[ι·-----]  
 [.....<sup>9</sup>.....] προτερ[-----]  
 [.....<sup>10</sup>.....] χιν : τ[-----]  
 75 [-----]εα : [-----]  
 [-----] *he*μιχ[-----]  
 [-----] ^ [-----]

lacuna

lacuna

*i, c, d, e*      ευ[-----]  
 α[-----]  
 80 ρ[-----]ε : [..]  
 ν[-----] *εια*  
 τ[-----] *as*<sup>vvv</sup>  
 παρό[ντον ----- ἐν τ]δι *hiε-*  
*ρδι* <sup>v</sup>[      *vacat*      ] *vacat*  
                                  *vacat*

lacuna

*k*      85 [-----] : : : [-----]  
 [-----]εν : ο[-----]  
 [-----]δ]ύο : [-----]  
 [-----]στ[-----]  
 [-----]ο[-----]

lacuna

lacuna

*l*      90 [-----]εν[-----]  
 [-----] : δρα[χμ-  
 [-----? ἀκόλο]υθοι : [-----]  
 [-----]τεςθα[ι  
 [-----]οσος ἀ[ν  
 95 [-----]ιοττε[-----]  
 [-----]s ἀν με δ[-----]  
 [-----]μι]σθδσθ[αι  
 [-----]μέ]χρι δρ[αχμδν  
 [-----] με έκτε[-----]  
 100 [-----]ι μισθ[-----]  
 [-----]ν : πράττ[εν  
 [-----] : ἐ ἐνθ[ύνεσθαι  
 [-----]σθ[-----]

lacuna

*lacuna*

*m* 105 [----]s : [-----]  
 [----]: : : τα[-----]  
 [----]ερσ[-----]  
 [----]ε[-----]

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*n* 110 [-----]ο[-----]  
 [----]ας : [-----]  
 [----]η]ερέο[ς -----]  
 [----]ει : [το- -----]  
 [----]η]ερ[-----]  
 [----]ε : το[-----]  
 [----]ι[-----]

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*o* 115 [-----]α[-----]  
 [-----]: γ[-----]  
 [-----]ν[-----]  
 [-----]α[-----]  
 [-----]ι : [-----]

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*p* 120 [-----]α[-----]  
 [-----]το[-----]  
 [-----]ν : ἐὰν[-----]  
 [-----]σι : ρ[-----]  
 [-----]ιπ[-----]

*lacuna*

*lacuna*

*q* 125 [-----]ιοε[-----]  
 [----]ν : σκάφε[-----]  
 [----]ιτεσθαι : [.]οσ[-----]  
 [---]μὲ ὄλε]ίζον : ἔ]ηεπτὰ ἔ]τε γεγον-----  
 [----]ἐάν : μὲ ἔλθει : τε[-----]  
 130 [---]εὐθύ]νεσθαι : τὸς η]ι[ερ -----]  
 [----]δε]μόσιον : ἔ]εὐθύ]νεσθαι -----  
 [----]η]ε]ροργῆι : ἐς κοιν[ο-----]  
 [-----]: [.]αλῆν : ἐὰν[-----]  
 [-----]ἐ]ντελῆ[-----]  
 135 [-----]ενα : [-----]

*lacuna*

Lines 3–4 ἐπορ[χες----?] *IG* I<sup>3</sup> (cf. *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 251, line 3). Line 4 IEOP? *IG* I<sup>3</sup>. Lines 9–13 *IG* I<sup>3</sup>. Lines 32, 35, 37–38 *IG* I<sup>3</sup>. Lines 56–57 [κοι]νο]νίας Meritt. Lines 59–60 [ἀ]δόλος Meritt. Line 65 κοιν[ονίας] Meritt. Lines 69–70, 76, 92 *IG* I<sup>3</sup>. Line 96 [---]ς ἀν μὲ α[---] Meritt. Line 99 ἐκτε[σαι] Meritt. Lines 128–129 *IG* I<sup>3</sup>. Line 132 *IG* I<sup>3</sup>.

The restorations are those offered by Meritt in the *editio prima*, except where noted above. Line 1 [τῆι ἐν Ἀρείοι πάγοι β]ολῆι Meritt. Lines 30–32: Meritt (p. 73) adduces the evidence of the boundary stone *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 4973: [ἰ]ερό[ν]

Ἀπόλλωνος Πατρῴου φρατρία]ς Θερρικ[λειδῶν. He suggested (p. 77) that the bottom of Face A would have concluded with a phrase such as [ἀναγράφαι ἐς στέλεν λιθίνην τὸς ἀρχαίος]. Line 33 [γραμμ]ατε[ί]ον? Meritt. Lines 56–57 [Ἱ]ωνίας? *IG* I<sup>3</sup> (cf. *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 383, lines 151–152; 1049). Line 96: Meritt here follows earlier editors. Line 99: Meritt follows Hiller, *IG* I<sup>2</sup>. Line 132: Another possibility is [ἐὰν δέ τις κα]κοργεῖ *IG* I<sup>3</sup>. Line 133 [β]αλεῖν or [κ]αλεῖν? *IG* I<sup>3</sup>.

### POLETAI RECORD: CONFISCATION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE THIRTY TYRANTS AND OF THEIR FOLLOWERS

**LA2** (Pl. 14). Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 1557), found on March 13, 1934, in a late context north of the Tholos (G 11). It is broken all around and at the back.

H. 0.024 m.; W. 0.052 m.; Th. 0.022 m.; L.H. 0.008 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.011 × 0.011 m.

Unpublished.

a. 402/1 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 32

*lacuna*

[... καταβολ]ῇ ἩΔ[-----vacat ]  
[τὰ ἐπώνια δ] πριά[μενος ἐτέλει vacat ]  
[.....<sup>11</sup>.....] ἀπ[έγραψεν .....<sup>12</sup>.....]  
*lacuna*

This should be part of Stele IV or Stele V of the poletai sales records in which the confiscation and sale by auction of the property of the Thirty and their adherents were recorded in the archonship of Mikon (**P2** above), but it makes no join with any other published fragment. For the restorations, see the text of **P2**, lines 68–96.

### POLETAI RECORD? CONFISCATED PROPERTIES?

**LA3** (Pl. 15). Fragment of bluish gray Hymettian marble (I 1818), found on April 20, 1934, in a late context over the Tholos (G 12). The stipple-dressed left side is preserved, with a drafted edge 0.015 m. in width, where it joins the face. The left margin is 0.053 m.

H. 0.055 m.; W. 0.079 m.; Th. 0.052 m.; L.H. 0.005–0.006 m.; stoichedon, with a square checker pattern, 0.0113 × 0.0113 m.

Unpublished.

saec. IV a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

ν[-----]  
ζ<sup>v</sup>[-----]  
θεο[-----]  
πav[-----]  
5 ακ[-----]  
*lacuna*

The zeta followed by an uncut space (line 2) suggests an abbreviation, almost certainly of the demotic [Ἀ]ζ[ημιεύς]: thus, this document may be a record of sales, confiscations or leases, in which lessees and guarantors are listed by name, patronymic, and abbreviated demotic. The relatively large checker pattern is unusual in poletai documents; see, however, the checker of **P40** above, which is dated in 307/6 B.C., as well as some of the non-stoichedon documents of the same general date. Too little survives of this document for any convincing restoration to be accomplished.

### POLETAI RECORD? CONFISCATED PROPERTIES?

**LA4** (Pl. 15). Fragment of bluish, probably Hymettian marble (I 4602), picked up on March 9, 1937, on the north slope of the Akropolis, near the Post-Herulian Wall (T 24–25). It is broken all around and at the back.

H. 0.039 m.; W. 0.094 m.; Th. 0.038 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.0076 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0072 m. The intercolumnar space is 0.015 m.

Unpublished.

*post med. saec. IV a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Col. I

*lacuna*

[-----]γωνιον δ-  
[--- ὧι γείτ: βορ]ρ: Ἀγνοδ-  
[ημ-----]νιλλαν  
[-----] κλιτη

*lacuna*

Col. II

*lacuna*

[-----]  
5 σ[-----]  
κ[-----]  
ι[-----]

*lacuna*

The directional abbreviation (line 2) suggests that this text is more likely to be a poletai document than a lease record: if so, its spacing and letter sizes are identical with those of the Kerameikos fragment *b* of **P21** above, and it may derive from the same stele, which contained a list of confiscated properties of the period 360–350 B.C.

#### POLETAI RECORD: CONFISCATED PROPERTIES (IN THE DEME OF ARAPHEN?)

**LA5** (Pl. 15). A fragment of badly eroded, micaceous Pentelic marble (I 6245) showing signs of burning, found on October 18, 1949, in a Byzantine context just southwest of the Agora Square (E 16). The stipple-dressed left side is preserved. The face has suffered damage since the photograph was made, and considerably less can be read now than appears in the photograph.

H. 0.226 m.; W. 0.162 m.; Th. 0.104 m.; L.H. 0.006–0.007 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.013 m. The left margin at line 3 is 0.01 m., increasing to 0.012 m. at line 15.

Unpublished.

*fin. saec. IV a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[<sup>2-3</sup>-----]ε[-----]  
[.]ε[-----]  
ατ[-----]  
[-----]  
5 [-----]  
ὧι [γειτ? -----]  
νευς [-----]  
[<sup>4-5</sup>-----]κεμ[-----]  
[<sup>1-2</sup>-----]ιοντον[-----]  
10 ἀ[πέ]γραψεν [-----]  
ο[.]νηει[.]σ[.]μ[-----]  
ὦι Ἀραφηνίωι ε[-----]  
[.]ιον Ἀραφηνῆ[σ]ι[ν] -----  
[.]ι[.] εἰς ΔΔ [-----]  
15 κῆι[.]π[-----]  
*vacat*

*lacuna*

Line 13: Possible restorations are, e.g., [ἐργαστήρ]ιον or [κηπε]ῖον. Line 15: [οἰ]κῆι, for example, might be restored.

The formula ἀ[πέ]γραψεν in line 10 indicates that this document must be a poletai record, either of mining leases or of sales of confiscated properties. Since the location of some, at least, of these properties may be the deme of Araphen, far away from the mining districts, it is likely that it is a record of sales of confiscated properties. The relatively large interline suggests that this document should be dated towards the end of the 4th century; cf. for instance, **P38** above.

POLETAI OR LEASE RECORD? CONFISCATED OR LEASED PROPERTIES  
(IN THORIKOS OR THORAI?)

**LA6** (Pl. 16). Fragment of micaceous Pentelic marble (I 6594), found on March 27, 1953, in the ancient road west of the west end of the Middle Stoa (H 12). It is broken all around and at the back.

H. 0.047 m.; W. 0.044 m.; Th. 0.021 m.; L.H. 0.004 m.; non-stoichedon, with a vertical checker of 0.008 m.

Unpublished.

*fin. saec. IV vel init. saec. III a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[-----]ε[-----]  
 [-----]Θορ[-----]  
 [-----]τα ἐχο[-----]  
 [-----]καιν[-----]  
 5 [-----]ανδο[-----]  
 [-----]Θ]ορ[?-----]  
*lacuna*

Line 3 ἐχο[μὲν---]? Line 4 καὶ ν[---] is possible.

This could be either a lease record or a poletai document; there is no way of deciding which. Two properties seem to be involved: the location of each could be in Thorikos, in which case the document could be a record of mining leases. If, on the other hand, the location of these properties is the deme of Thorai, this document is more likely to represent a record of sales or leases.

POLETAI RECORD? CONFISCATED PROPERTIES?

**LA7** (Pl. 16). Fragment of Pentelic marble (I 4591), found on March 10, 1937, in a Byzantine context south of the Eleusinion (U 22). It is broken all around and at the back.

H. 0.102 m.; W. 0.069 m.; Th. 0.034 m.; L.H. line 1, 0.006 m.; lines 2ff., 0.005–0.006 m.; stoichedon, with a horizontal checker of 0.011 m. and a vertical checker of 0.0115 m. There is an unscribed vertical space of 0.013 m. above the first preserved line.

Unpublished.

*fin. saec. IV vel init. saec. III a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

*vacat*  
 [-----]εγ[-----]  
 [-----]το[.]ς ν[-----]  
 [-----]ἐν Θορ[-----]  
 [-----]κλέους[-----]  
 5 [----] ὧι γείτω]ν ἡλίω[ν -----]  
 [-----]ιχ[-----]  
 [-----]μ[-----]  
*lacuna*

Line 1: Possible restorations are, e.g., [ἀπ]έγ[ραψεν] or ἐγ[γυ<ητής>]. Line 2 το[ύ]ς or το[ῖ]ς would be possible. Line 5 [ἀνιόντος] or [δυομένου], e.g., might be suggested.

The topographical reference in line 5 suggests that this is a poletai document or a lease record; there is no way of telling which. If line 1 is actually the first line of text, one might restore here [ἀπ]έγ[ραψεν] or, less likely, ἐγ[γυ]. These, of course, are by no means the only possibilities, but if [ἀπ]έγ[ραψεν] is correct, this document will be a record of the sale of confiscated property or a mining lease. The slightly larger lettering of line 1 suggests that, in fact, it may be some sort of heading, but this does not, of course, eliminate the possibility of its being a poletai document: see, for instance, the heading of **P2**, p. 73 above, line 61, with the sub-heading [----ο]ῖς καὶ ἀς οἱ δῆμ[αρχοι ἀπέγραψαν].

## RECORD OF SALE OR LEASE OF LAND?

**LA8** (Pl. 16). Fragment of micaceous Pentelic marble (I 5453), found on May 18, 1938, in a context of the Middle Roman period, in the west passage of the Klepsydra on the north slope of the Akropolis (T 27). It is broken all around and at the back. The face is highly polished.

H. 0.079 m.; W. 0.0085 m.; Th. 0.039 m.; L.H. 0.005–0.006 m.; non-stoichedon, with an interline in lines 1–6 of 0.0104 m. and in lines 7–8 of 0.008 m.

Unpublished.

*fin. saec. IV a.*

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*lacuna*

[-----ἐ]κ γῆς [numeral -----]  
 [-name - 'Pa]μνο<sup>v</sup> Π||<sup>v</sup> [- -----]  
 [-name -- Θρ]ιάσι ἐν το[ίς] --- name -----]  
 [-name --- ἐ]ν τοῖς Αἴσχρ[ωνος?] -----]  
 5 [- -----] ἐκ γῆς<sup>v</sup> ||<sup>v</sup> ἐ[- -----]  
 [-- ἐν τοῖς Χ]αρικλ(ε)ίδ[ους] -----]  
 [----- ἐκ γ]ῆς: Γ ἀπὸ π[- -----]  
 [----- ἐκ] γῆς: !: [- -----]  
*lacuna*

Line 4 Αἴσχρ[ωνίδου] would also be possible. Two masons worked on this document, probably at two different times: the second was considerably less skilled (lines 6–7).

The document resembles, in some respects, the 5th-century *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 418 (**L2** above), a record of temene in Euboia that belonged to Athens and were leased out, but there is no precise parallel. In some respects, too, it resembles a pupillary *apotimema* (see, in particular, *IG* XII, suppl. 331 = Finley, no. 130); line 4 could thus be restored [ῥος ἀποτιμήματος ἐ]ν τοῖς Αἴσχρ[ωνος]. In other respects, however, there is no resemblance in this document to a pupillary *apotimema*, so that its identification, even as a public document, must be left open. The highly polished face may be significant, since such treatment was not usually accorded either to poletai records or lease documents but rather to building records and similar documents. Its findspot suggests that it may derive from a document originally set up on the Akropolis.

## CONCORDANCES AND INDICES

# CONCORDANCES

## A. INSCRIPTIONES GRAECAE, EDITIO MINOR<sup>1</sup>

<i>IG</i> I <sup>2</sup>	<i>Agora</i> XIX	<i>IG</i> II <sup>2</sup>	<i>Agora</i> XIX	<i>IG</i> II <sup>2</sup>	<i>Agora</i> XIX
7	<b>LA1</b>	30	<b>L3</b>	1588	<b>P38</b>
325–334	<b>P1</b>	334	<b>L7</b>	1589	<b>P40</b>
376	<b>L2</b>	1176	<b>L13</b>	1590	<b>L6</b>
841	<b>LA1</b>	1579	<b>P2</b>	1591	<b>L6</b>
864	<b>H72</b>	1581	<b>P42</b>	1592	<b>L14</b>
		1582	<b>P26</b>	2495	<b>L10</b>
		1583	<b>P14</b>	2507	<b>H2</b>
<i>IG</i> I <sup>3</sup>		1584	<b>P15</b>	2581 a	<b>H68</b>
44	<b>L1</b>	1585	<b>P21</b>	2581 b	<b>H69</b>
243	<b>LA1</b>	1586	<b>P44</b>	2671	<b>H82</b>
418	<b>L2</b>	1587	<b>P38</b>		
421–430	<b>P1</b>				

## B. SUPPLEMENTUM EPIGRAPHICUM GRAECUM

<i>SEG</i> X	<i>Agora</i> XIX	<i>SEG</i> XIV	<i>Agora</i> XIX	<i>SEG</i> XVIII	<i>Agora</i> XIX
26	<b>L1</b>	27	<b>H29</b>	13	<b>L7</b>
304	<b>L2</b>	105	<b>H47</b>		
357	<b>H3</b>	106	<b>H59</b>		
359	<b>H17</b>	107	<b>H60</b>	<i>SEG</i> XIX	
360	<b>H72</b>	108	<b>H61</b>	23–25	<b>P1</b>
361	<b>H5</b>	109	<b>H62</b>	31	<b>H44</b>
364	<b>H21</b>	110	<b>H65</b>	117	<b>L13</b>
368	<b>H25</b>			125	<b>L16</b>
368	<b>H27</b>			132	<b>P3</b>
368	<b>H28</b>	<i>SEG</i> XVI		133	<b>P4</b>
370	<b>H40</b>	122	<b>P8</b>	134	<b>P55</b>
371	<b>H42</b>	123	<b>P9</b>	135	<b>P54</b>
373	<b>H39</b>	124	<b>P11</b>		
374	<b>H38</b>	125	<b>P19</b>	<i>SEG</i> XXI	
		126	<b>P19</b>	104	<b>H45</b>
		127	<b>P32</b>	105	<b>H46</b>
<i>SEG</i> XII		128	<b>P39</b>	109	<b>H37</b>
64	<b>H7</b>	129	<b>PA1</b>	111	<b>H36</b>
65	<b>H43</b>	146	<b>H11</b>	112	<b>H38</b>
100	<b>P5</b>	147	<b>H19</b>	527	<b>L4a</b>
142	<b>H48</b>	148	<b>H13</b>	565	<b>P47</b>
144	<b>H71</b>	187	<b>H18</b>	566	<b>P48</b>
				567	<b>P49</b>
<i>SEG</i> XIII		<i>SEG</i> XVII		646	<b>H64</b>
12–22	<b>P1</b>	13	<b>H6</b>	647	<b>H12</b>
		58	<b>H53</b>	650	<b>H20</b>
		59	<b>H80</b>	657	<b>H98</b>

<sup>1</sup> Note that *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1580 is not a poletai document even though so classified in the Corpus; cf. *SEG* XXI, 569. [MKL]



<i>SEG XXI</i>	<i>Agora XIX</i>	<i>SEG XXVII</i>	<i>Agora XIX</i>	<i>SEG XXXIII</i>	<i>Agora XIX</i>
658	<b>H114</b>	10	<b>H115</b>	143	<b>L13</b>
659	<b>H96</b>			167	<b>L6</b>
660	<b>H95</b>			168	<b>L9</b>
		<i>SEG XXVIII</i>		169	<b>L10</b>
		27	<b>H41</b>	170	<b>L11</b>
<i>SEG XXII</i>		119	<b>P6</b>	171	<b>L12</b>
145	<b>H77</b>	120	<b>P10</b>		
147	<b>H34</b>	121	<b>P13</b>		
		122	<b>P27</b>	<i>SEG XXXIV</i>	
		123	<b>P16</b>	124	<b>L14</b>
<i>SEG XXIV</i>		129	<b>P28</b>	159	<b>H100</b>
1	<b>LA1</b>	130	<b>P29</b>	160	<b>H89</b>
46	<b>P1</b>	131	<b>P12</b>	161	<b>H99</b>
56	<b>H2</b>	132	<b>P18</b>	162	<b>H88</b>
57	<b>H8</b>	133	<b>P34</b>	163	<b>H81</b>
206	<b>H83</b>	134	<b>P35</b>	164	<b>H76</b>
207	<b>H82</b>	136	<b>P40</b>		
				<i>SEG XXXV</i>	
<i>SEG XXV</i>		<i>SEG XXXII</i>		124	<b>L6</b>
63	<b>L3</b>	161	<b>P2</b>		
200	<b>H23</b>				
201	<b>H24</b>				
202	<b>H122</b>				

C. *HESPERIA* AND SUPPLEMENTS

<i>Hesperia</i> 3, 1934		<i>Hesperia</i> 8, 1939		<i>Hesperia</i> 10, 1941	
	<i>Agora XIX</i>		<i>Agora XIX</i>		<i>Agora XIX</i>
64	(56) <b>H6</b>	48	(14) <b>H5</b>	53	(15) <b>H67</b>
65	(57) <b>H116</b>	50–51	(16) <b>H42</b>	53	(16) <b>H86</b>
65	(58) <b>H123</b>	77–79	(24) <b>H72</b>	54	(17) <b>H102</b>
		79	(25) <b>H69</b>	54–55	(18A) <b>H84</b>
<i>Hesperia</i> 4, 1935		205	<b>H25</b>	54–55	(18B) <b>H78</b>
52	(14) <b>H16</b>	212–213	<b>H34</b>		
565–571	(41) <b>P52</b>			<i>Hesperia</i> 11, 1942	
		<i>Hesperia</i> 9, 1940		240	(44) <b>H66</b>
<i>Hesperia</i> 5, 1936		53–54	(1) <b>H40</b>	240–242	(45) <b>H70</b>
41	<b>H5</b>	54	(2) <b>H41</b>	313	<b>H116</b>
390–393	(9) <b>P2</b>	55	(3) <b>H39</b>		
393–413	(10) <b>P26</b>	55–56	(4) <b>H38</b>	<i>Hesperia</i> 12, 1943	
		266	<b>H27</b>	28–33	(6) <b>L2</b>
<i>Hesperia</i> 6, 1937		267, 299	<b>H30</b>	163–164	<b>H116</b>
173	<b>H14</b>			237–238	<b>H34</b>
454–456	(5) <b>L6</b>				
		<i>Hesperia</i> 10, 1941		<i>Hesperia</i> 14, 1945	
<i>Hesperia</i> 7, 1938		14–27	(1) <b>P5</b>	85–86	(4) <b>L1</b>
1–68	(1) <b>L4a</b>	38	(3) <b>H3</b>		
9–12	(2) <b>L4b</b>	38	(4) <b>H10</b>	<i>Hesperia</i> 15, 1946	
74	(3) <b>H21</b>	39	(5) <b>H17</b>	175	(22) <b>H15</b>
93–94	(14) <b>H87</b>	39	(6) <b>H14</b>	181–184	(31) <b>P2</b>
107–108	<b>P52</b>	40	(8) <b>H33</b>	185–187	(32) <b>P17</b>
126–127	(26) <b>P56</b>	52	(14) <b>H77</b>	187–188	(33) <b>PA8</b>

*Hesperia* 16, 1947*Agora* XIX

149	(38)	<b>P2</b>
149-150	(39)	<b>P45</b>
150	(40)	<b>PA2</b>
155-157	(51)	<b>P53</b>

*Hesperia* 17, 1948

35	(18)	<b>H9</b>
35-36	(19)	<b>H68</b>
36	(20)	<b>H58</b>
37	(21)	<b>H57</b>

*Hesperia* 19, 1950

206	(1)	<b>P5</b>
206-208	(2)	<b>P6</b>
208-209	(3)	<b>P7</b>
209-210	(4)	<b>P10</b>
210-218	(5)	<b>P13</b>
219-220	(6)	<b>P27</b>
220-221	(7)	<b>P14</b>
221-222	(8)	<b>P15</b>
222-223	(9)	<b>P16</b>
223-224	(10)	<b>P21</b>
224	(11)	<b>P22</b>
224-225	(12)	<b>P23</b>
226-236	(13)	<b>P20</b>
236-240	(14)	<b>P24</b>
240-244	(15)	<b>P25</b>
244-254	(16)	<b>P26</b>
254	(17)	<b>P31</b>
254-260	(18)	<b>P27</b>
260-263	(19)	<b>P28</b>
263-267	(20)	<b>P29</b>
267-269	(21)	<b>P30</b>
269-270	(22)	<b>P12</b>
270	(23)	<b>P27</b>
270-272	(24)	<b>P19</b>
272-274	(25)	<b>P18</b>
274-275	(26)	<b>P33</b>
275	(27)	<b>P32</b>
275-277	(28)	<b>P34</b>
277-278	(29)	<b>P35</b>
278	(30)	<b>P36</b>
279	(31)	<b>P37</b>
279-281	(32)	<b>P38</b>
281-282	(33)	<b>P56</b>
282-283	(34)	<b>P40</b>
283-284	(35)	<b>P41</b>
284	(36)	<b>PA3</b>
284-285	(37)	<b>P50</b>
285	(38)	<b>P44</b>

*Hesperia* 20, 1951

53		<b>H4</b>
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*Hesperia* 21, 1952*Agora* XIX

113		<b>H13</b>
359	(6)	<b>H43</b>
372	(18)	<b>H71</b>
374	(25)	<b>H7</b>
379	(37)	<b>H48</b>

*Hesperia* 22, 1953

227-299		<b>P1</b>
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*Hesperia* 23, 1954

259	(47)	<b>H29</b>
259	(48)	<b>H65</b>
259	(49)	<b>H59</b>
259	(50)	<b>H60</b>
259	(51)	<b>H61</b>
260	(52)	<b>H62</b>
260	(53)	<b>H47</b>

*Hesperia* 26, 1957

1-2	(S1)	<b>P8</b>
2-9	(S2)	<b>P9</b>
9-10	(S3)	<b>P11</b>
10-13	(S4)	<b>P19</b>
13-15	(S5)	<b>P19</b>
15-18	(S6)	<b>P32</b>
18-19	(S7)	<b>P39</b>
19-20	(S8)	<b>PA1</b>
90	(37)	<b>H19</b>
91	(38)	<b>H11</b>
91	(39)	<b>H13</b>
91-92	(40)	<b>H18</b>
218	(72)	<b>H80</b>
233	(88)	<b>H53</b>

*Hesperia* 28, 1959

239-247		<b>L7</b>
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*Hesperia* 29, 1960

1-2	(1)	<b>L13</b>
21	(27)	<b>L16</b>
24-25	(32)	<b>P3</b>
25-28	(33)	<b>P4</b>
28	(34)	<b>P55</b>
28-29	(35)	<b>P54</b>
64	(112)	<b>H44</b>

*Hesperia* 30, 1961

23-29		<b>P1</b>
242-243	(38)	<b>P47</b>
243	(39)	<b>P48</b>
243-244	(40)	<b>P2</b>
263	(77)	<b>H45</b>
263	(78)	<b>H46</b>
263-264	(79)	<b>H12</b>

*Hesperia* 30, 1961*Agora* XIX

264	(80)	<b>H20</b>
264	(81)	<b>H36</b>
264		<b>H38</b>
265	(82)	<b>H37</b>

*Hesperia* 32, 1963

12-13	(10)	<b>L13</b>
30-31	(28)	<b>P49</b>
43	(51)	<b>H64</b>
43	(52)	<b>H98</b>
44	(53)	<b>H114</b>
44	(54)	<b>H96</b>

*Hesperia* 33, 1964

226	(75)	<b>H95</b>
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*Hesperia* 35, 1966

274		<b>H19</b>
276-277		<b>H72</b>

*Hesperia* 36, 1967

72-84	(15)	<b>LA1</b>
84-86	(16)	<b>P1</b>
98-99	(30)	<b>H2</b>
99	(31)	<b>H83</b>
99-100	(32)	<b>H82</b>

*Hesperia* 37, 1968

61-63		<b>H26</b>
63		<b>H25</b>
63		<b>H27</b>
63		<b>H28</b>
121-122		<b>H19</b>
127-128		<b>H8</b>
266-267	(2)	<b>L3</b>
292	(34)	<b>H122</b>
292-293	(35)	<b>H23</b>
293-294	(36)	<b>H24</b>

*Hesperia* 38, 1969

417		<b>H1</b>
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*Hesperia* 40, 1971

162-173	(23)	<b>L3</b>
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*Hesperia* 41, 1972

274	(1)	<b>H76</b>
274-276	(2)	<b>H81</b>
276-279	(3)	<b>H89</b>
279	(4)	<b>H88</b>
279-280	(5)	<b>H99</b>
280	(6)	<b>H100</b>
280-281	(7)	<b>H115</b>

*Hesperia* 43, 1974

319-321	(2)	<b>P1</b>
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*Hesperia* 47, 1978*Agora* XIX94-95 **H41***Hesperia* 51, 198274-98 **P2***Hesperia* 52, 1983100-135 (1) **L6**177-191 (2) **L9**191-199 (2) **L10**200-203 (4) **L11**203-206 (5) **L12***Hesperia* 53, 1984361-368 (6) **L14***Hesperia* 56, 198747-58 **L8***Hesperia* 57, 198881-85 (1) **H131***Hesperia*, Supplement IV107 **H25**107 **H27**107 **H28***Hesperia*, Supplement IX*Agora* XIX1 (1) **H118**1 (2) **H73**2 (3) **H117**2-3 (4) **H75**3 (5) **H74**3-4 (6) **H79**4-5 (9) **H101**4 (7) **H120**4 (8) **H121**5 (10) **H85**5-6 (11) **H103**6-7 (12) **H104**7 (13) **H105**7 (14) **H113**7-8 (15) **H111**8 (16) **H110**8-9 (17) **H108**9-10 (18) **H107**10 (19) **H106**10-11 (20) **H109**11 (21) **H131**11-12 (22) **H90***Hesperia*, Supplement IX*Agora* XIX12-13 (23) **H92**13 (24) **H91**13 (25) **H93**13-15 (26) **H94**15-16 (27) **H97**16-22 (28) **H124**22 (29) **H127**22-23 (30) **H129**23 (31) **H128**23-24 (32) **H125**24 (33) **H126**25 (IIa) **H123**25-26 (IIb) **H116**28 (1) **H116**28 (2) **H123**28 (3) **H77**29-30 (7) **H78**31 (11) **H87**31 (12) **H86**31-32 (13) **H102**32 (14) **H84**

## D. OTHER PUBLICATIONS

*Agora* III*Agora* XIX28 (37) **H15**29 (39) **H7**53 **H11**65 (151) **H5**85 **H16**124-125 **H13**124 **H19**218 (713) **H25**218 (713) **H27**218 (713) **H28**223 **H30**224 (730) **H34**225 **H18***Agora* XIV96 **H7**117 **H25**117 **H26**117 **H27**117 **H28**118 **H34**137 **H11***AM* 17, 189291 **H2***CSCA* 7, 1974

290-298 (3)

*Agora* XIX**L13**M. I. Finley, *Land and Credit*133 (48) **H86**134 (53) **H87**138 (71) **H84**138 (72) **H102**152 (120) **H77**160-161 (148) **H82**161 (151) **H116**161-162 (152) **H78**165 (164) **H123**182 (18A) **H108**183 (21A) **H104**183-184 (31A-B) **H94**184 (39A) **H111**184-185 (66A) **H113**185 (66B) **H103**185 (66C) **H91**185 (66D) **H97**185 (67A) **H92**185-186 (82B) **H93**186 (85A) **H85**186 (85B) **H107**186 (85C) **H109**M. I. Finley, *Land and Credit**Agora* XIX186 (86A) **H110**187 (92A) **H106**187 (101A) **H101**187 (101B) **H105**187 (101C) **H131**188 (114A) **H124**189 (120A) **H74**189 (126A) **H75**190 (129A) **H73**190 (152A) **H79**190 (164A) **H117**191 (166A) **H125**191 (171A) **H118**191 (171B) **H90**192 (171C) **H127**192 (171D) **H129**192 (171E) **H128**192 (171F) **H126**192-193 (175A) **H120**193 (175B) **H121***Sitz. Akad. Berlin*, 1897665 (2) **H82**

J. S. Traill, <i>Demos and Trittys</i>	<i>Agora XIX</i>	J. Travlos, <i>PDA</i>	<i>Agora XIX</i>
		1	<b>H5</b>
96-97 (2)	<b>H37</b>	2	<b>H5</b>
98 (4)	<b>H40</b>	3	<b>H25</b>
99 (6)	<b>H42</b>	16	<b>H25</b>
99-100 (7)	<b>H41</b>	274	<b>H6</b>
100 (8)	<b>H39</b>	323	<b>H3</b>
101-102 (10)	<b>H38</b>	578	<b>H5</b>
102 (11)	<b>H36</b>		

## E. AGORA INVENTORY NUMBERS

<i>Inv. No.</i>	<i>Agora XIX</i>	<i>Inv. No.</i>	<i>Agora XIX</i>	<i>Inv. No.</i>	<i>Agora XIX</i>
I 236	<b>P1</b>	I 1664	<b>P26</b>	I 2121	<b>H57</b>
I 238	<b>H101</b>	I 1681	<b>P2</b>	I 2170	<b>H68</b>
I 273	<b>H123</b>	I 1691	<b>PA2</b>	I 2197	<b>H38</b>
I 293	<b>H116</b>	I 1723	<b>P40</b>	I 2205	<b>P28</b>
I 298	<b>H6</b>	I 1749	<b>P26</b>	I 2221	<b>H21</b>
I 370	<b>H15</b>	I 1750	<b>P20</b>	I 2251	<b>H104</b>
I 513	<b>H16</b>	I 1777	<b>P53</b>	I 2339	<b>H127</b>
I 626	<b>PA8</b>	I 1778	<b>P53</b>	I 2362	<b>P3</b>
I 627	<b>P2</b>	I 1782	<b>P26</b>	I 2372	<b>H67</b>
I 631 a + 939	<b>P29</b>	I 1803	<b>P46</b>	I 2408	<b>H72</b>
I 631 b	<b>P25</b>	I 1807 + 1940	<b>P20</b>	I 2429	<b>H48</b>
I 631 c	<b>P12</b>	I 1816	<b>P26</b>	I 2440	<b>L13</b>
I 631 d	<b>P13</b>	I 1818	<b>LA3</b>	I 2441	<b>H129</b>
I 631 e	<b>P25</b>	I 1851	<b>P13</b>	I 2472	<b>H14</b>
I 631 f	<b>P13</b>	I 1854	<b>P20</b>	I 2483	<b>H7</b>
I 679	<b>P13</b>	I 1855	<b>P20</b>	I 2503	<b>P7</b>
I 680	<b>P37</b>	I 1869	<b>P20</b>	I 2528	<b>H69</b>
I 686	<b>P29</b>	I 1879	<b>P22</b>	I 2563	<b>H71</b>
I 810	<b>P13</b>	I 1888	<b>H85</b>	I 2618	<b>H43</b>
I 817	<b>P26</b>	I 1894	<b>P2</b>	I 2639 a	<b>P24</b>
I 865 + 7359	<b>P18</b>	I 1918	<b>P52</b>	I 2639 b	<b>P25</b>
I 870	<b>P17</b>	I 1937	<b>P20</b>	I 2712	<b>H60</b>
I 933	<b>P56</b>	I 1944	<b>P20</b>	I 2728	<b>H105</b>
I 1092	<b>P2</b>	I 1959	<b>P20</b>	I 2800	<b>H17</b>
I 1095 + 2381	<b>P25</b>	I 1971	<b>P53</b>	I 2813	<b>H63</b>
I 1117	<b>H87</b>	I 1973	<b>H102</b>	I 2817	<b>H128</b>
I 1175 a, b	<b>LA1</b>	I 1974	<b>H130</b>	I 2964	<b>P6</b>
I 1191	<b>H39</b>	I 1977	<b>L12</b>	I 2968	<b>P20</b>
I 1230 a, b, c, d	<b>LA1</b>	I 1978	<b>H78</b>	I 3031	<b>H77</b>
I 1243	<b>LA1</b>	I 1978	<b>H84</b>	I 3060	<b>PA1</b>
I 1261	<b>P10</b>	I 1980	<b>P43</b>	I 3079	<b>H59</b>
I 1317	<b>LA1</b>	I 2000	<b>P33</b>	I 3110 a, b	<b>LA1</b>
I 1447	<b>P45</b>	I 2014	<b>P53</b>	I 3131	<b>H51</b>
I 1454	<b>H10</b>	I 2015	<b>P41</b>	I 3226	<b>H28</b>
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## EPIGRAPHICAL INDICES

All inscriptions for which texts are given in this study are indexed herein. **P1** = **Attic Stelai** is therefore not included, nor are lines 26–41 of **L7**. Since some restorations from previous editions have been suppressed, readers are advised to consult the indices of the *editiones principes* where available, in order to gain some idea of further possible occurrences of proper names and significant words. Convenient indices of the previously published mining leases are given by M. Crosby in *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 298–312 and 26, 1957, pp. 21–23. Inscriptions preserving only records of horoi, or of confiscated or leased properties, are for the most part published in *Hesperia* and are indexed in the respective volumes of that journal in which they appear.

### 1. INDEX OF NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

Broken names are listed only if they consist of more than the initial letter. For reasons of economy, the number of letter spaces available for restoration of broken names is not indicated, nor is the context in which a name occurs normally given, apart from the date. The body of material is small enough that these data may be quickly found by consulting the present texts or the indices of previous editions cited above. Alphabetization follows the normal practice of simple names first, followed by names with the qualification “father of”, then names with patronymics, and finally names with demotics in alphabetical order.

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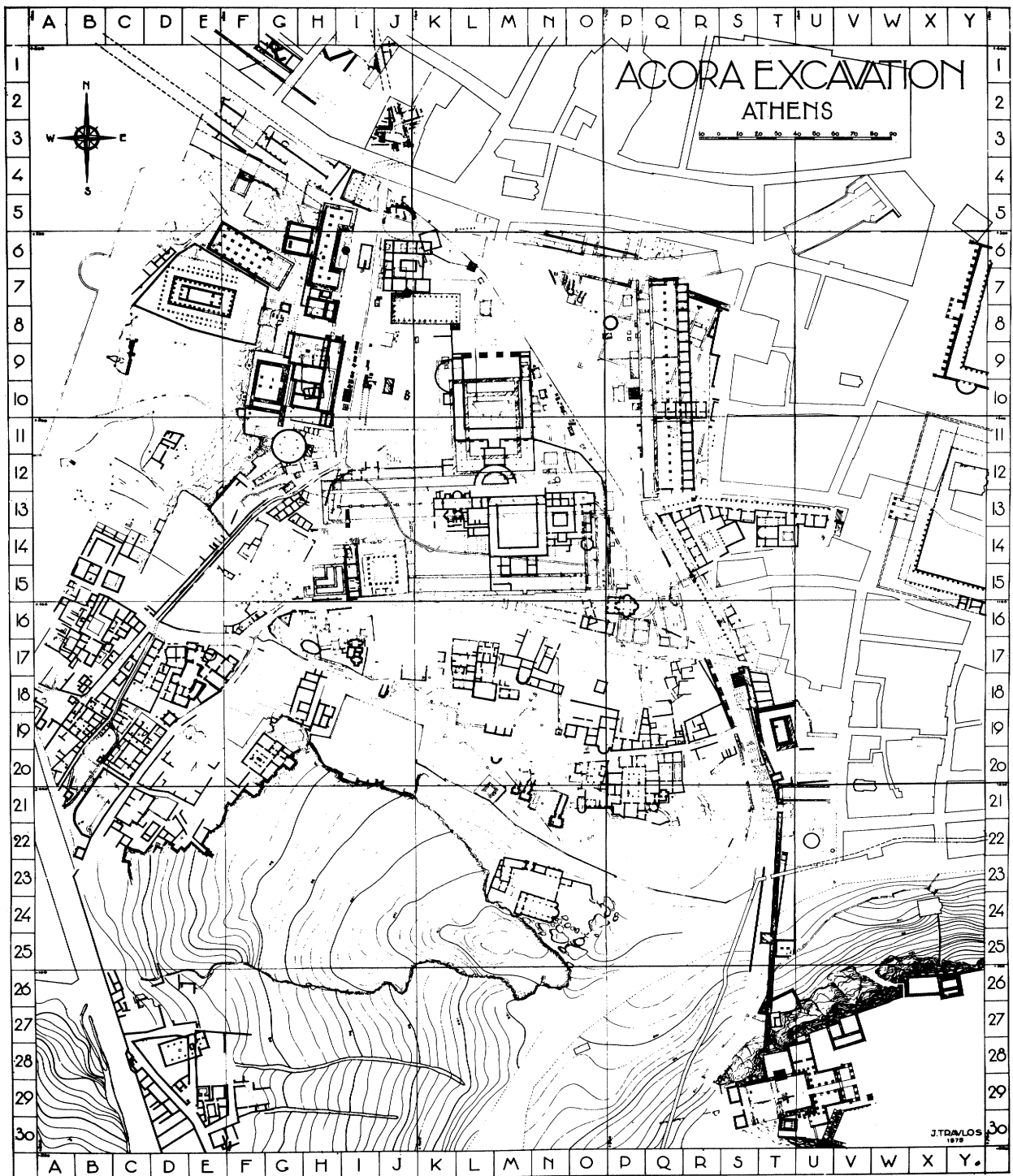
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## PLAN AND PLATES



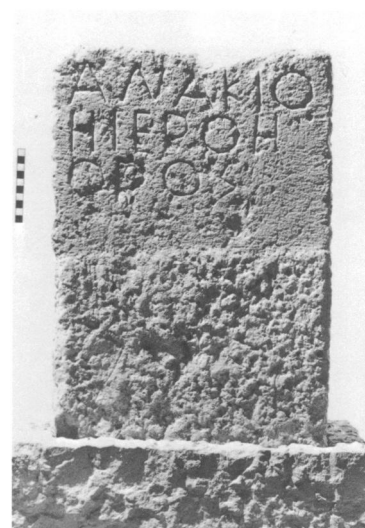
Actual-state plan of the excavations of the Athenian Agora



**H1** (I 7047)



**H2** (I 7006)



**H5** (I 2080)



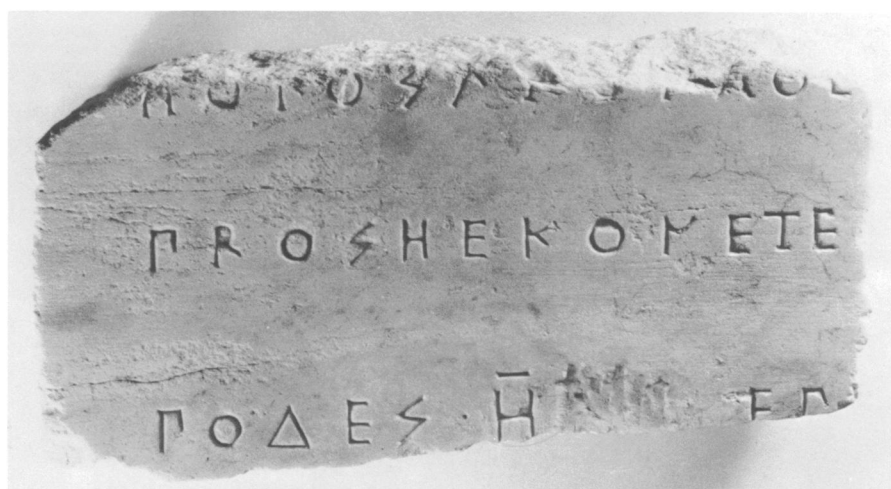
**H8** (I 7012)



**H21** (I 2221)



**H22** (I 3525)



**H23** (I 4090 a)



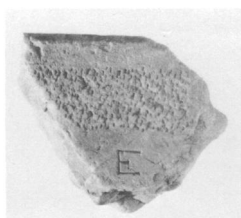
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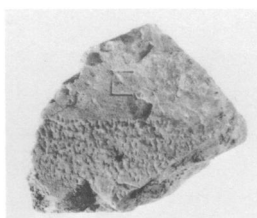
**H26** (I 7039)



**H28** (I 3226)



**H31 A** (I 6835)



**H31 B** (I 6835)

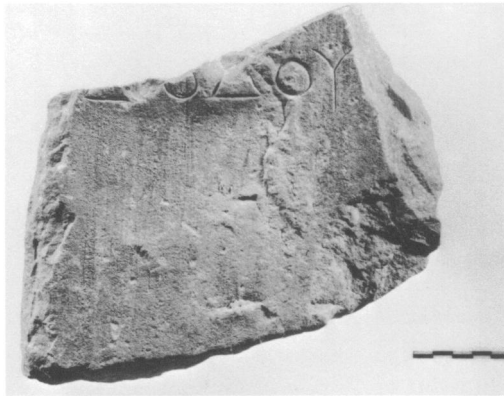


**H30** (I 5770)

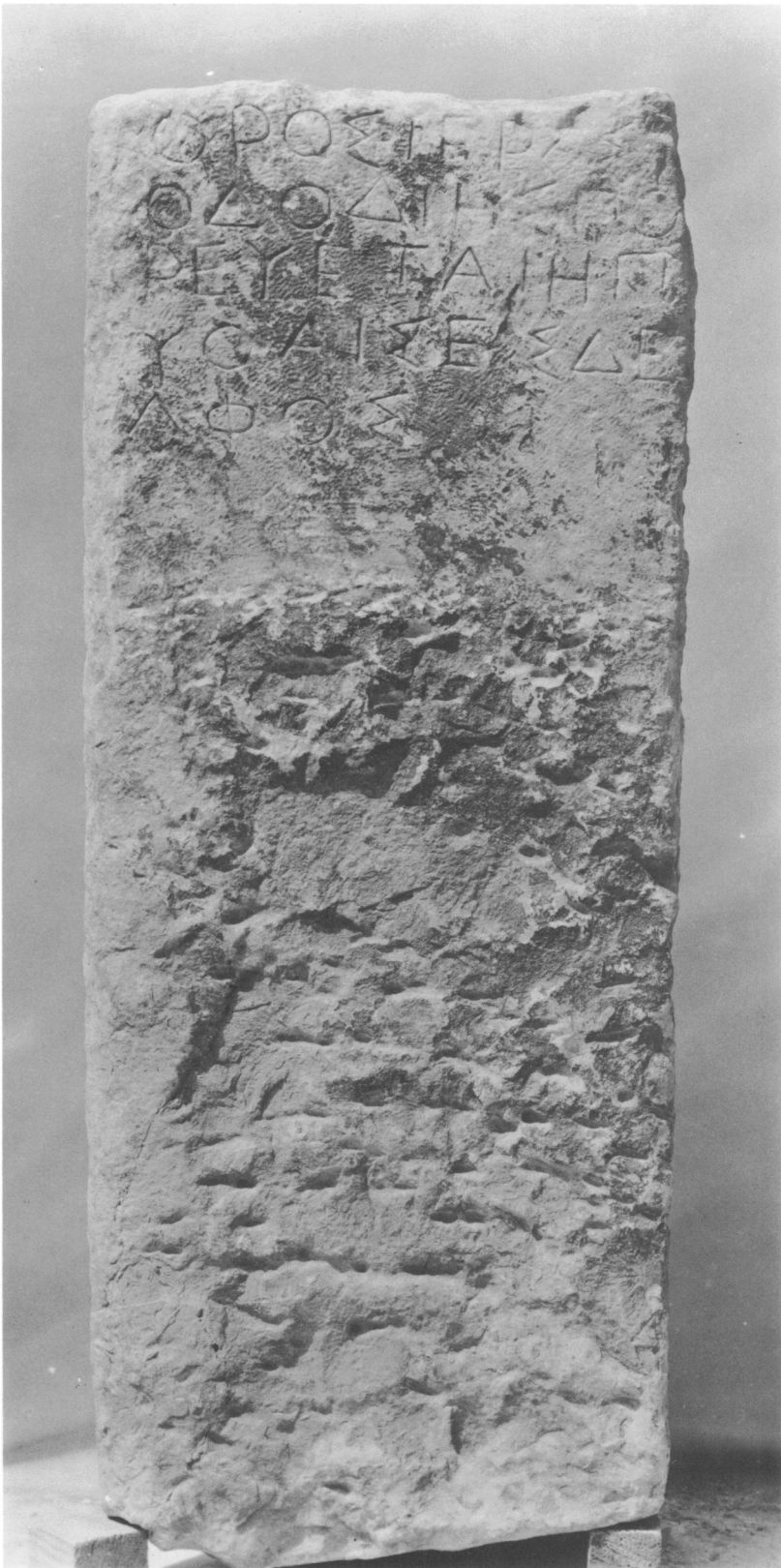




H32 (I 7505)



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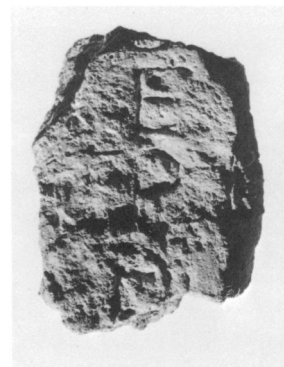
**H49 B** (I 7265)



**H50** (I 5784)



**H51** (I 3131)



**H52** (I 5420)

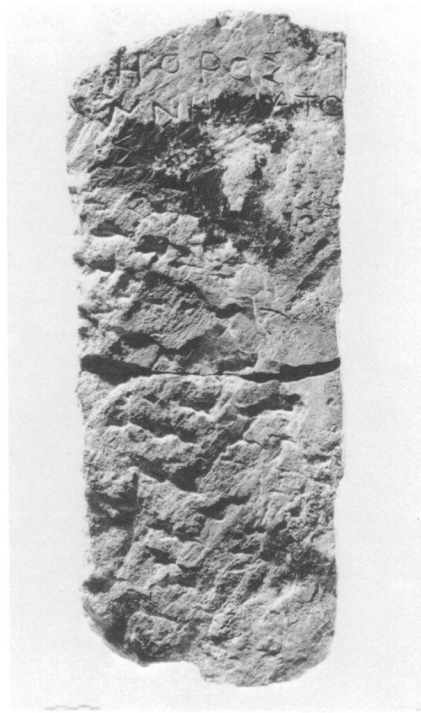




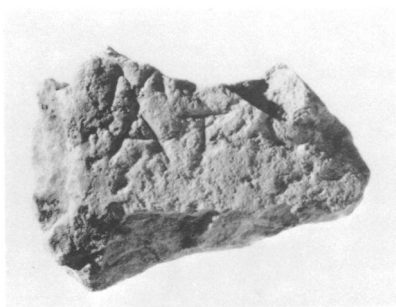
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**H55** (I 7462)



**H56** (I 7463)



**H63** (I 2813)



**H66** (I 5478)



**H65** (I 3637)



**H69** (I 2528)



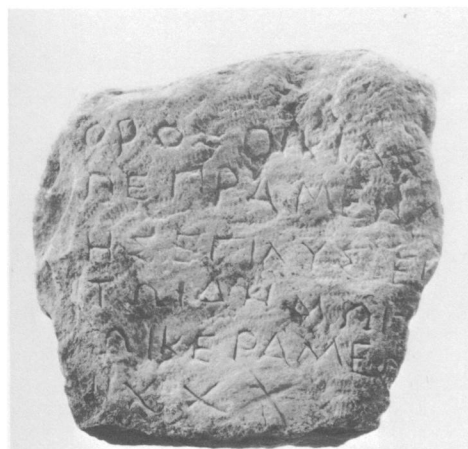
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**H77** (I 3031)



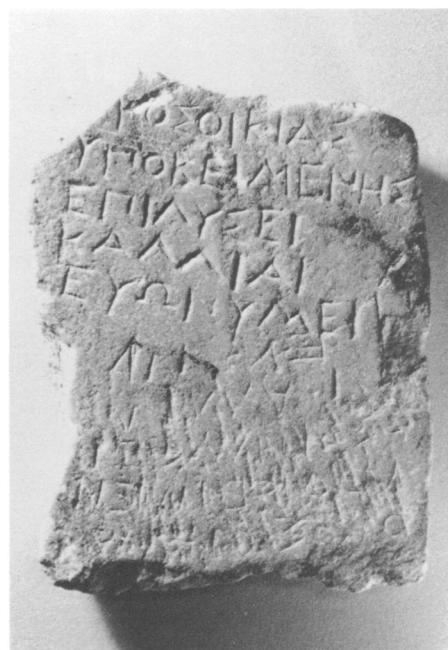
**H92** (I 5376)



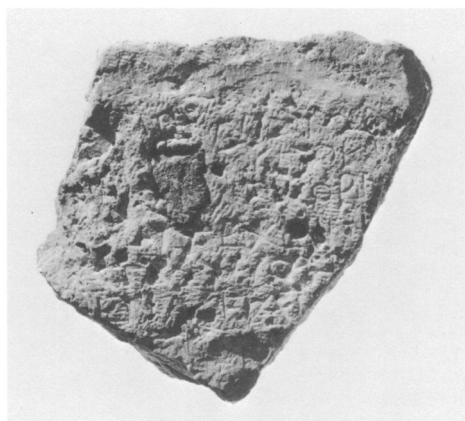
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**H112** (I 7498)



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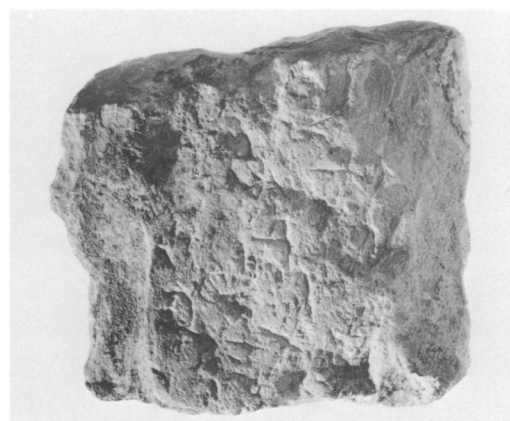
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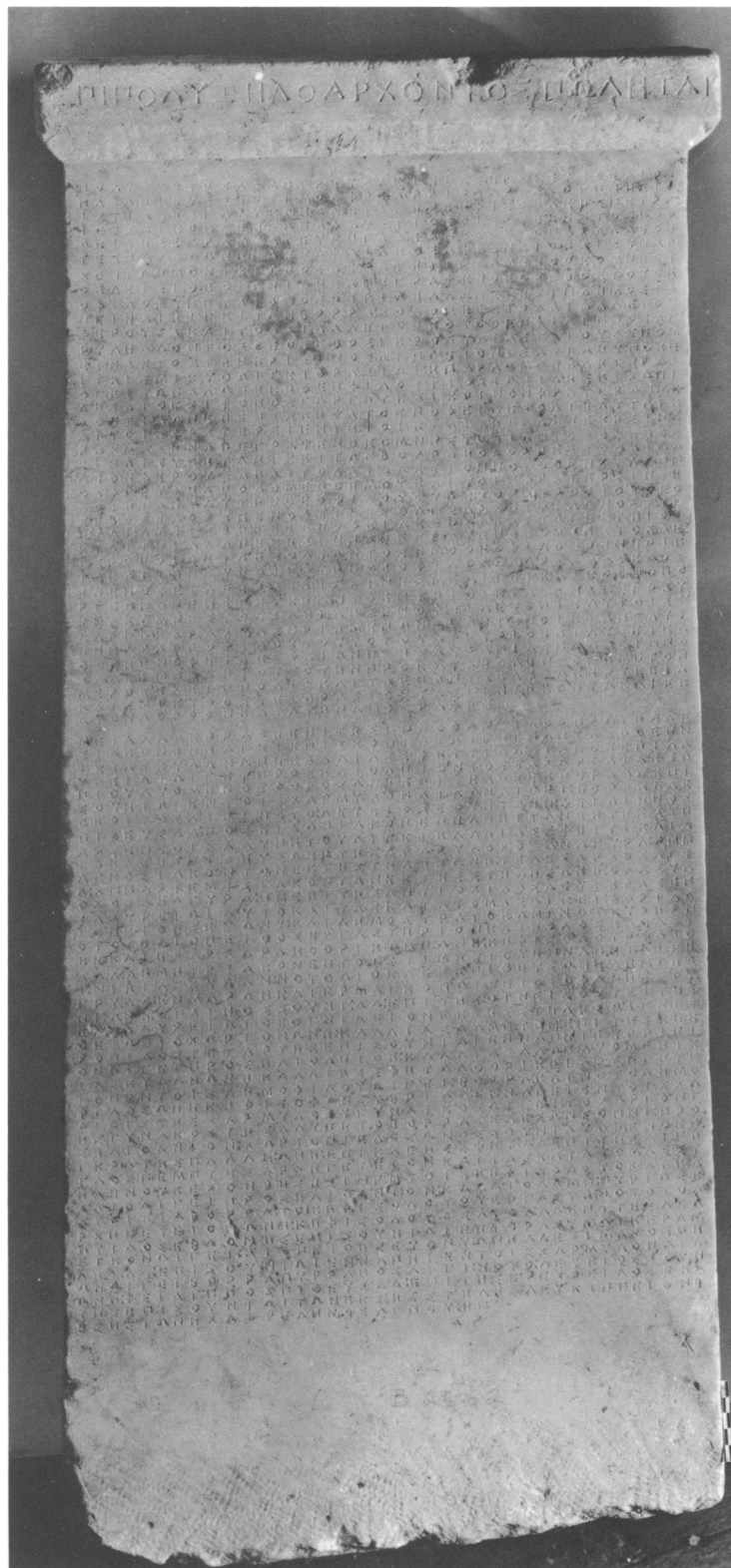
**H119** (I 6710)



**H120** (I 5629)

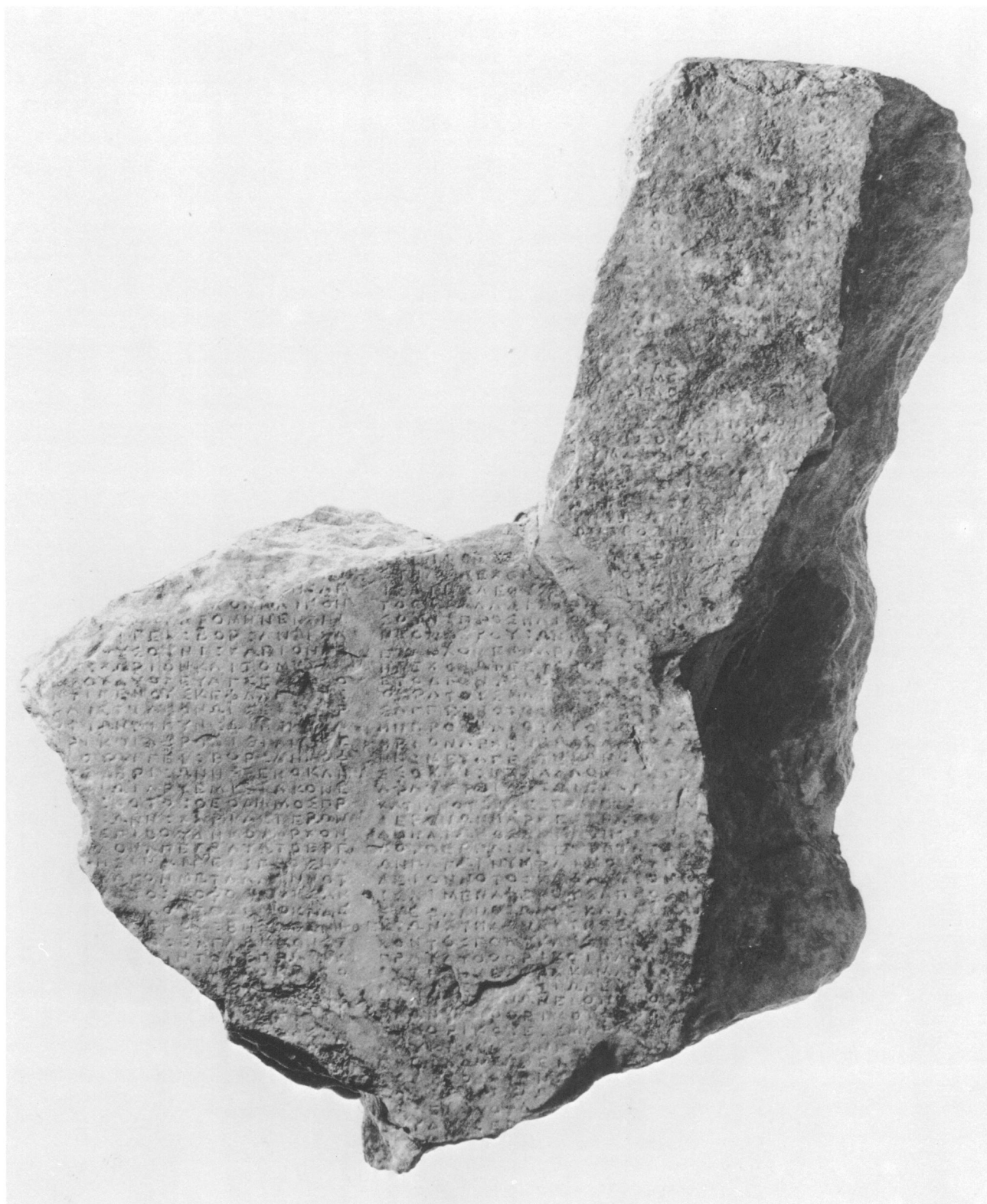


**H130** (I 1974)

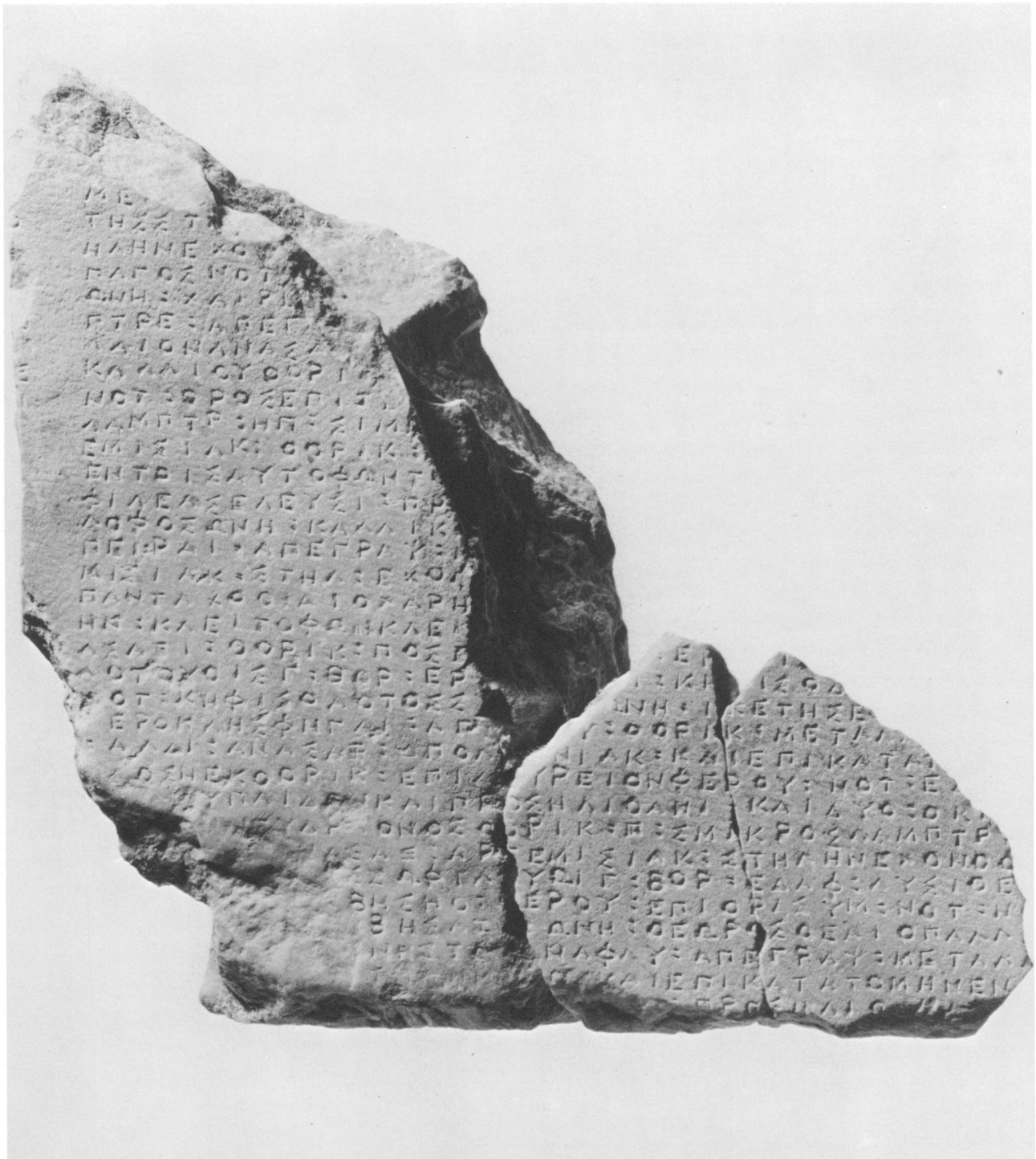


P5 (I 5509)

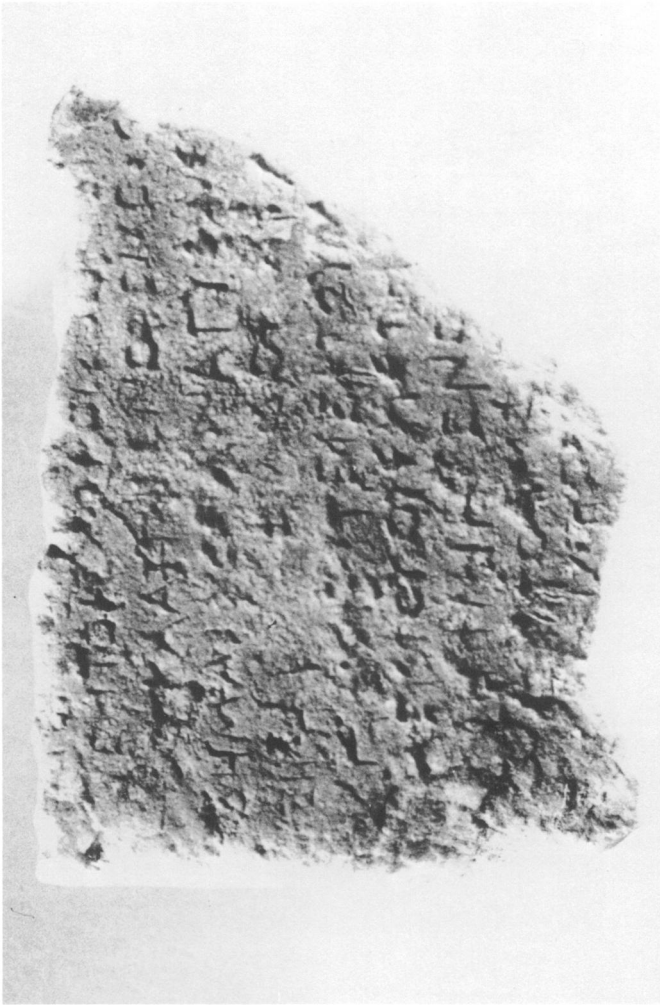




P18 (I 865 + 7359)



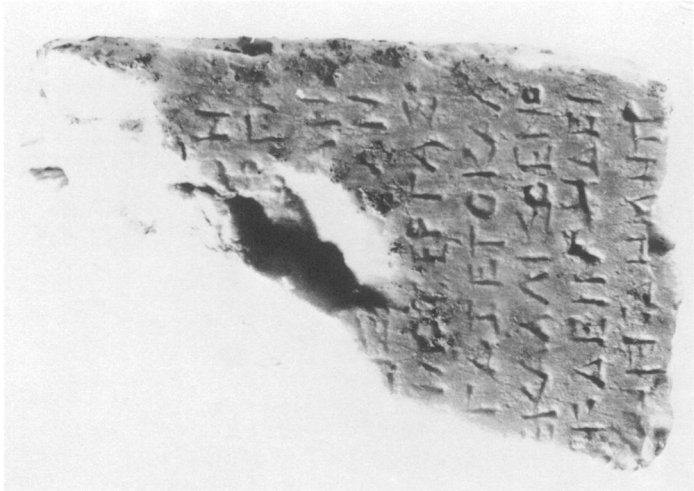
P27 b (I 4782 + 7419)



P43 b B (I 1980)



P46 (I 1803)



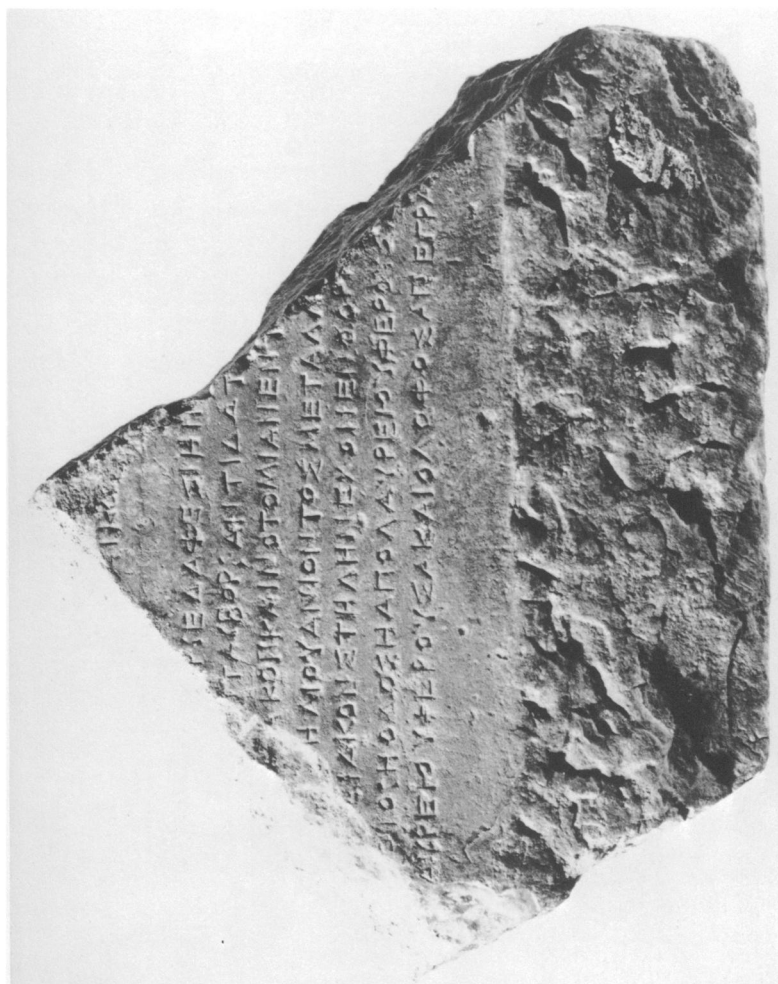
P43 a B (I 7427)



P43 a A (I 7427)



PA5 (I 4962)



P51 (I 7302)

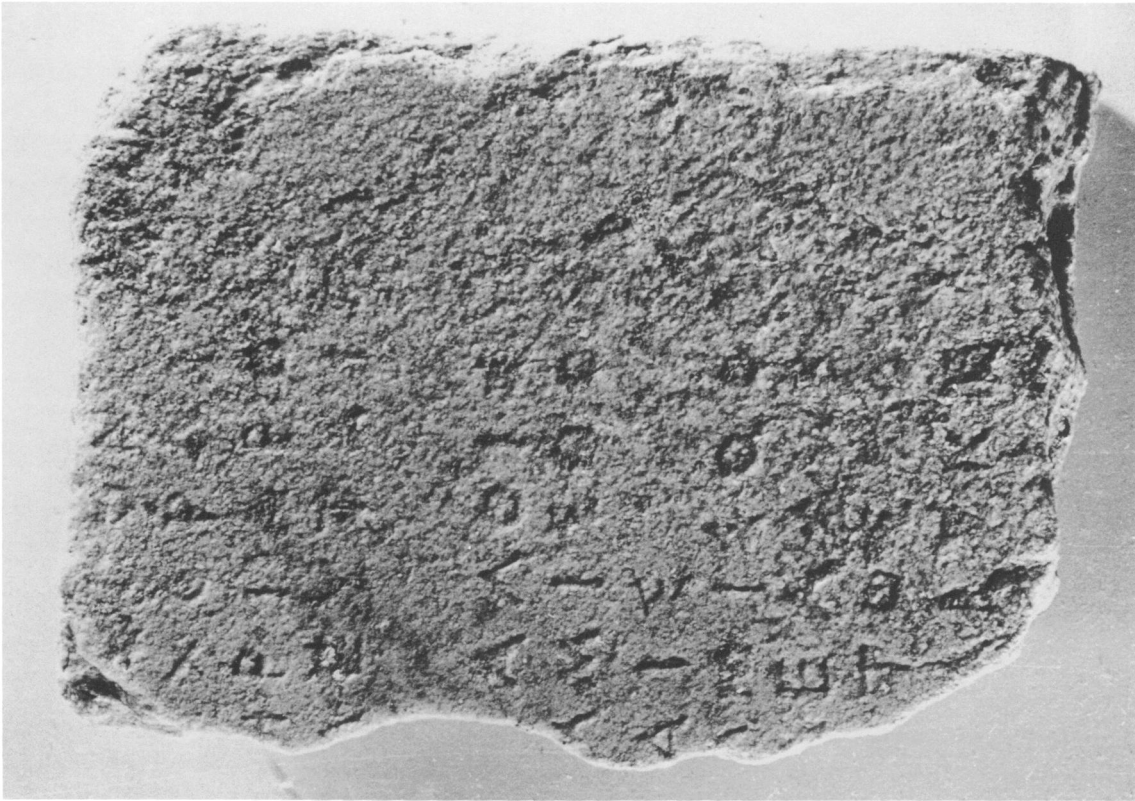


PA4 (I 4843)





PA7 (I 4884)



PA6 (I 5920)



**L5** (I 4349)



**L15** (I 6007)



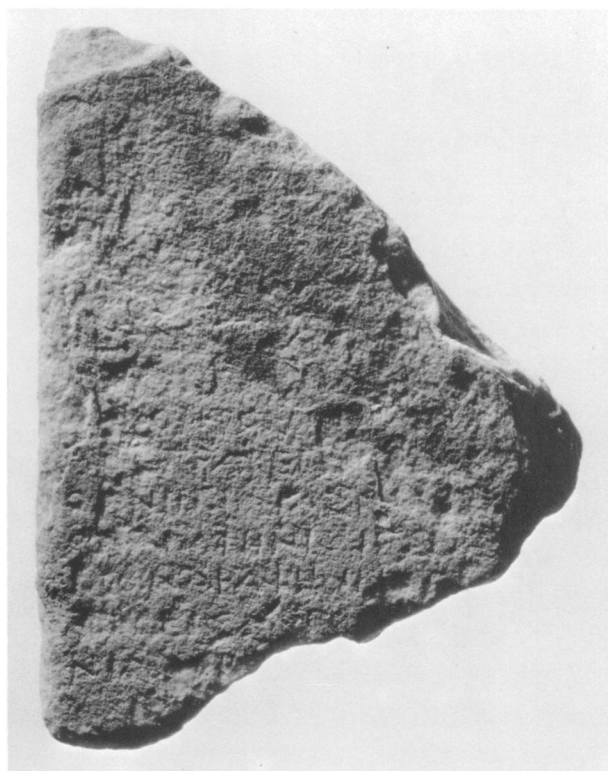
**LA2** (I 1557)



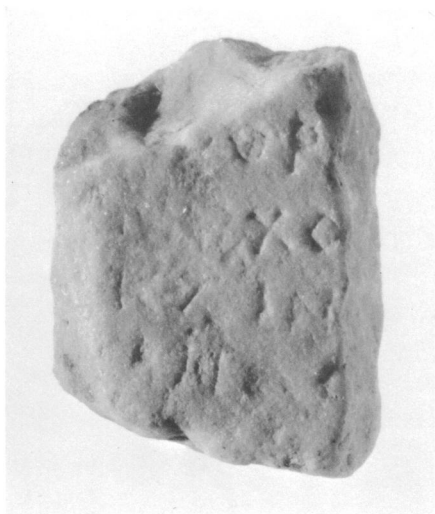
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#### <sup>17</sup> **Rock-Cut Inscriptions from Mt. Hymettos**

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*Hesperia*, Vol. 50, No. 1. (Jan. - Mar., 1981), pp. 68-77.

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#### <sup>28</sup> **A Fifth Century Hieron Southwest of the Athenian Agora**

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#### <sup>29</sup> **A Hero Shrine in the Athenian Agora**

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<sup>34</sup> **The Topography of the Frogs**

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<sup>34</sup> **The Fifth-Century Horoi of Aigina**

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*The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 103. (1983), pp. 1-12.

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<sup>35</sup> **An Anonymous Hero in the Athenian Agora**

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<sup>36</sup> **Greek Inscriptions**

Benjamin D. Meritt

*Hesperia*, Vol. 15, No. 3, The American Excavations in the Athenian Agora: Twenty-Ninth Report. (Jul. - Sep., 1946), pp. 169-253.

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<sup>36</sup> **Greek Inscriptions**

Benjamin D. Meritt

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<sup>57</sup> **Greek Inscriptions**

Benjamin D. Meritt

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<sup>61</sup> **The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1971**

T. Leslie Shear Jr.

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<sup>61</sup> **The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1972**

T. Leslie Shear Jr.

*Hesperia*, Vol. 42, No. 4. (Oct. - Dec., 1973), pp. 359-407.

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<sup>66</sup> **Some Boundary Stones from the Piraeus**

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*American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 36, No. 3. (Jul. - Sep., 1932), pp. 254-259.

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<sup>67</sup> **An Industrial District of Ancient Athens**

Rodney S. Young

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<sup>91</sup> **Toward a Study of Athenian Voting Procedure**

Alan L. Boegehold

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<sup>97</sup> **Some Attic Inscriptions**

Eugene Vanderpool

*Hesperia*, Vol. 35, No. 3. (Jul. - Sep., 1966), pp. 274-283.

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### <sup>113</sup> **Some Attic Inscriptions**

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## [Footnotes]

### <sup>3</sup> **Greek Inscriptions**

Margaret Crosby; John Young

*Hesperia*, Vol. 10, No. 1, The American Excavations in the Athenian Agora: Nineteenth Report. (Jan. - Mar., 1941), pp. 14-30.

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### <sup>15</sup> **I.G., I 2 , 95, and the Ostracism of Hyperbolus**

A. G. Woodhead

*Hesperia*, Vol. 18, No. 1, The Thirty-Sixth Report of the American Excavations in the Athenian Agora. (Jan. - Mar., 1949), pp. 78-83.

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### <sup>31</sup> **Attic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century**

Benjamin D. Meritt

*Hesperia*, Vol. 14, No. 2, The American Excavations in the Athenian Agora: Twenty-Sixth Report. (Apr. - Jun., 1945), pp. 61-133.

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### <sup>51</sup> **An Industrial District of Ancient Athens**

Rodney S. Young

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<sup>54</sup> **Buildings on the West Side of the Agora**

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*Hesperia*, Vol. 6, No. 1, The American Excavations in the Athenian Agora: Eleventh Report. (1937), pp. 1-226.

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<sup>55</sup> **Menon's Cistern**

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<sup>62</sup> **Dating the Earliest Coins of Athens, Corinth and Aegina**

John H. Kroll; Nancy M. Waggoner

*American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 88, No. 3. (Jul., 1984), pp. 325-340.

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<sup>64</sup> **Greek Inscriptions**

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*Hesperia*, Vol. 37, No. 3. (Jul. - Sep., 1968), pp. 266-298.

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### [Footnotes]

<sup>1</sup> **Leases of Sacred Properties in Attica, Part I**

Michael B. Walbank

*Hesperia*, Vol. 52, No. 1. (Jan. - Mar., 1983), pp. 100-135.

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<sup>61</sup> **An Attic Decree Concerning Oropos**

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<sup>87</sup> **The Restoration of Sanctuaries in Attica: I.G., II 2 , 1035**

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*Hesperia*, Vol. 44, No. 2. (Apr. - Jun., 1975), pp. 207-223.

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<sup>88</sup> **Three Foreigners in Attica**

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<sup>88</sup> **A Roman Monument in the Athenian Agora**

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*Hesperia*, Vol. 41, No. 1. (Jan. - Mar., 1972), pp. 50-95.

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